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# A TIBETAN RELIGIOUS GEOGRAPHY OF NEPAL

BY
TURRELL WYLIE



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*Dedicated to Antonio Gargano and the staff of IsMEO as a token of my respect, admiration, and affection.*

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# PREFACE

Although I began work on this study of a Tibetan geography of Nepal several years ago, various unexpected events delayed its completion until now. I finished the transcription of the Tibetan text and its translation shortly before the 1959 Tibetan revolt. Following that revolt, the Rockefeller Foundation gave the University of Washington a grant, which provided funds to bring learned Tibetans to the University for a three-year research program. This grant offered unique opportunities to carry out special research; consequently this study of Nepalese religious geography was put aside.

While in India in 1960 to recruit the Tibetans for our research program, I had the opportunity to revisit Kathmandu, where I tried to locate Tibetan materials related to my study of Nepal's pilgrimage places. I was informed that two guide-books of the Kathmandu valley were printed in Tibetan; but I was unable to find copies during my brief stay. Fortunately, these two guide-books (see appendices A and B for these texts in transcription), together with one of the Bodhnāth stūpa, were obtained later on and forwarded to me by my friend Pasang Sherpa, to whom I am extremely grateful, for without the aid of these guide-books, many passages in the original geography would have remained ambiguous.

After the termination of the special research program supported by the Rockefeller Foundation, I was once again able to resume my work on this Nepalese geography. During the summer of 1965, I was able to devote full time to this study and bring it to completion thanks to the financial assistance I received from the Far Eastern and Russian Institute of the University of Washington, for which I am deeply grateful.

It is with great pleasure that I make the following additional acknowledgements:

To Professors Luciano Petech (University of Rome), Thomas Ballinger (University of Oregon), Margaret Fisher and Leo Rose (University of California, Berkeley), and Bhuwanlal Joshi (University of California, Santa Cruz) for their kindness in reading an early draft of this manuscript and offering valuable suggestions.

To the members of the staff of the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, whose kind cooperation and affectionate assistance contributed greatly to the completion of this study.

And, finally, to my *guru*, Professor Giuseppe Tucci, who not only gave generously of his limited time and opened his private library to me, but who also through his affection and interest in my work is a constant source of encouragement to me.

TURRELL WYLIE

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# ABBREVIATIONS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| BA | = | George Roerich, *The Blue Annals* (2 Vols), Calcutta 1949–1953. Translation of the *Deb-ther Sngon-po*. |
| *Bal-gnas* | = | *Bal-yul gnas-yig* (see Appendix A). |
| Daniélou | = | Alain Daniélou, *Le Polythéisme Hindou*, Buchet/Chastel, Correa 1960. |
| *'Dzam-gling* | = | Turrell Wylie, *The Geography of Tibet According to the 'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad* (*Serie Orientale Roma* XXV), Rome 1962. |
| Eliot | = | Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism* (3 vols.), London, reprinted 1954. |
| Hamilton | = | Francis Hamilton (formerly Buchanan), *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, Edinburgh 1819. |
| Kirkpatrick | = | Colonel Kirkpatrick, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul*, London 1811. |
| Landon | = | Perceval Landon, *Nepal* (2 vols.), London 1928. |
| Lévi | = | Sylvain Lévi, *Le Népal, Étude Historique d'un Royaume Hindou* (3 vols.), Paris 1905–1908. |
| ODT | = | René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, Den Haag 1956. |
| Roerich | = | George Roerich, *Biography of Dharmasvāmin* (*Chag lo-tsa-ba Chos-rje-dpal*), Patna 1959. |
| *Shing-kun* | = | *Bal-yul mchod-rten 'Phags-pa shing-kun dang de'i gnas gzhan-rnams-kyi dkar-chag* (see Appendix B). |
| Snellgrove | = | David Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himālaya*, Oxford 1957. |
| TPS | = | Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (2 vols.), Rome 1949. |
| Waddell | = | L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, Cambridge, reprinted 1958. |

# INTRODUCTION

This study of a Tibetan religious geography of Nepal is based on the Nepalese section of the *'Dzam gling chen po'i rgyas bshad snod bcud kun gsal me long zhes bya ba* ("The mirror which illuminates all inanimate and animate things and explains fully the great world"), known in short as the *'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad*, [1] which was written by Bla-ma Btsan-po, also known as Smin-grol Nomun Khan.

Because of the nature and content of the Tibetan text, I have called it a *religious* geography. Geography, in the sense of an objective and scientific study of topography, flora and fauna did not develop in Tibet. Instead, Tibetan texts, which might be called geographies are, in fact, little more than guide-books to be used by pilgrims. These give succinct directions to sacred locations and descriptions of holy objects to be found there, along with reference to any important ecclesiastic associated with the place. A prime example of this type of Tibetan *religious* geography is the *Dbus-gtsang-gi gnas-rten rags-rim-gyi mtshan-byang mdor-bsdus dad-pa'i sa-bon zhes-bya-ba* by Mkhyen-brtse (1820-1892) [2]. In reading this text on the holy places of central Tibet, the reader is struck by the complete lack of reference to topographical features, flora, or fauna, unless there is some connection with a sacred place, object, or person. In contrast to this type of *religious* geography, the world geography of Bla-ma Btsan-po is unique in that it incorporates both religious and topographical descriptions. When

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[1] The transcription system used in this study is the one described in Turrell Wylie, "A Standard System of Tibetan Transcription", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 22 (December 1959), pp. 261-67.

[2] See Alfonsa Ferrari †, *mK'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet*, (*Serie Orientale Roma* XVI), edited by Luciano Petech, (Rome 1958).

describing those countries where geographical texts are of the pilgrim's guide-book genre, Bla-ma Btsan-po's descriptions are limited to religious places, objects, and persons; but, when dealing with countries such as those in Europe and the western hemisphere, his descriptions include topography, flora and fauna. This is because he relied on western sources – Russian, Italian, and others – in which the descriptions are more in keeping with the scientific meaning of the term *geography* [3].

The author of the *'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad* was the erudite incarnation Bla-ma Btsan-po, known as Smin-grol sprul-sku 'Jam-dpal Chos-kyi bstan-'dzin 'phrin-las (1789–1838), whose monastery was the A-mdo Sgo-mang dgon-pa, which is also known as the Gser-khog dgon-pa. According to the colophon, he composed his geography in the Iron-Dragon year of the 14th cycle (A.D. 1820) [4] while living in Peking, China.

The copy of Bla-ma Btsan-po's work used in this study is an *dbu-med* manuscript of 146 folios which was obtained from the late Dr. Joseph F. Rock and now belongs to the University of Washington (Seattle). Two sections of this world geography have been recently published: the section on North and South America (folios 141-b to 144-b) [5] and the section on Tibet (folios 58-a to 81-a). The published text of this section [6] was collated with an *dbu-can* manuscript copy in the private library of Professor Giuseppe Tucci in Rome. Unfortunately, Professor Tucci's copy only covers the section on Tibet; therefore, no other copy was available to me for collation when transcribing the section on Nepal.

The Nepalese section comprises folios 3-b to 8-b of the University of Washington's *dbu-med* manuscript. Orthographic corrections have been made on the manuscript in red ink by some unknown person.

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[3] For further details on the various types of Tibetan geographical texts, see Turrell Wylie, "The Tibetan Tradition of Geography", *Bulletin of Tibetology*, Vol. II – No. 1 (Gangtok 1965), pp. 17-25.

[4] Cf. *'Dzam-gling*, pp. xv, 109, 195.

[5] Turrell Wylie, "Dating the Tibetan Geography *'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad* through its Description of the Western Hemisphere", *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol. IV – Nr. 4 (The Hague 1959), pp. 300-11.

[6] See *'Dzam-gling* in the list of abbreviations.



In each case, the correction in red is the desired reading; therefore, it is given in the main body of the transcribed text and the original – but incorrect – spelling is given at the bottom of the page, following the word: Origo. There are a few cases where the original text was demonstrably incorrect; yet, it was not rectified by that unknown proof-reader. In such cases, the correct spelling is given in the text and the incorrect one is noted at the bottom of the page, following the word: Error.

Several Sanskrit words are given in transliteration in the text and those with the dipthongs: ཨཽ and ཨཻ are transcribed as *au* and *ai*, respectively. Thus, such transcriptions as *bai* represents བཻ and is not a typographical error for *ba'i* བའི.

Interestingly enough, Bla-ma Btsan-po's geographical description of Nepal is limited to places and things along the main roads from Skyid-grong and Nya-lam rdzong in Tibet to Kathmandu and to the Kathmandu valley itself as far south as Bhimphedi. This is probably due to the limited materials available to Bla-ma Btsan-po, who was living in Peking. Although he refers to both oral and textual sources, he only specifically names two: Thang-zing and Mnga'-ris grub-chen. Thang-zing refers to Hsüan-tsang, the Chinese pilgrim who traveled to India between the years 629 and 645 and whose account of his trip is titled *Hsi-yü-chi*. This work would have been available to Bla-ma Btsan-po either in Chinese or Tibetan (see footnote 82). From the way he cites Mnga'-ris grub-chen (cf. folio 5-a), it appears Bla-ma Btsan-po had a guide-book written by someone with that name. Neither of the two guide-books of the Kathmandu valley, *Bal-yul gnas-yig* and *Bal-yul mchod-rten 'Phags-pa shing-kun dang de'i gnas gzhan rnams-kyi dkar-chag*, refer to Mnga'-ris grub-chen. Moreover, Bla-ma Btsan-po includes information not found in these two guide-books; therefore, it is presumed that he had yet another guide-book written by Mnga'-ris grub-chen.

I have quoted extensively from the two guide-books on the Kathmandu valley mentioned above and since they may not be available to the general reader, I have included their texts in transcription (see Appendix A and B).

Two tables have been included at the end of this study in order to provide a convenient means of cross-identification between the Tibetan names found in *'Dzam-gling* with those occurring in non-Tibetan sources. Table A gives the Tibetan name first and then its non-Tibetan equivalent; Table B is just reverse listing.

Finally, a sketch map of the geographical area concerned is included at the end in order to show the approximate location of those places mentioned in the original Tibetan text.

TURRELL WYLIE

## TEXT

(Folio 3–b) Yul der 'gro ba'i lam dang yul so so'i gnas chen rnams dang | rten byin rlabs can bzhugs pa rnams phyogs gcig tu bshad na | spyir rgya nag sogs mtha'i yul so so nas rgya gar du 'gro ba'i lam mang yang | rgya gar la cha lnga byas pa'i dbus pa'i dbus kyi char [1] mnyam med shākya'i rgyal po sogs bskal bzang rnam [2] 'dren stong las sngar byon zin dang ma 'ongs [3] pa na 'byon dgos [4] rnams sku bltams [5] pa dang | mngon par rdzogs par sangs rgyas pa dang | chos kyi 'khor lo bskor ba dang | mya ngan las 'das pa sogs tshul bstan dang dngos gnas pa'i mdzad pa bsam gyis [6] mi khyab pa mdzad pa dang | mdzad par 'gyur ba'i gnas rdo rje gdan sogs mjal bar 'dod pa rnams dbus gtsang sogs nas 'gro ba'i dbang du byas na | thog mar bal po'i yul du phyin nas der bzhugs pa'i rten rnams mjal te | rgya gar du song na thag nye zhing lam yang cung zad bde ba yin pas | rang re'i bod kyi mang [7] yul skyid grong dang gnya' nang ci rigs rgyud de lho phyogs su shin tu bgrod dka' ba'i lam 'phrang chu sogs mang por brgal te | nyin zhag drug bdun tsam phyin pa na bal yul mthil du slebs par 'gyur la | yul de yang 'byor pa rgyas shing skye bo mang pos gang ba ri brag dang nags [8] tshal thang sogs 'dres ma la 'bru rigs sna tshogs 'debs rung ba | dbyar dgun gnyis su dro grang snyoms shing skabs 'ga' zhig ma gtogs rgyun du lo legs pa | chos dang longs spyod kyi 'byor pas mi dman pa'i yul yin yul der bal yul gling gsum gyi nang tshan dbus kyi gling | rgya gar gyi skad ka tha māṇdu te shing dkyil lam bal bo [9] dang bod spyi la yam bur

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[1] Error: cha
[2] Origo: rnams
[3] Origo: 'ong
[4] Origo: gos
[5] Origo: bltam
[6] Error: gyi
[7] Origo: mangs
[8] Origo: nag
[9] Origo: bu

grags[1] pa mi khyim stong phrag bcu drug tsam yod pa'i grong dang | pa ṭan zer ba ming (4–a) gzhan ye rang du grags pa dang | pa ṭhi gom 'am kho khom sogs grong khyer chen po gsum dang | gzhan yang sam khu | kirta spu ra | tsi ti lam | na ya ko ṭa | stha na ko ṭa | de ba pa ṭan | shi ba pu ra sogs grong khyer chung ngu mang po dang | yul chung gya bzhi yod par grags | yul der sku gsung thugs rten dang gnas khyad par can bzhugs[2] pa ni | grong khyer yam bur 'phags pa mched bzhi'i nang tshan[3] jo bo ja ma li dang a kam bu kam 'am | bal po rnams kyis ka ru dzu dzu zer ba sku mched gnyis dang | mgon po klu sgrub kyis klu'i yul nas spyan drangs pa'i yum dang | yul tsi to ro'i rgyal po dza ya malla spun gnyis dpung gis 'jig[4] pa las skyabs par grags pa'i sgrol ma'i snang brnyan dang | 'phags pa shā ri'i bu'i dbu thod bzhugs par grags pa'i mchod rten sogs rten byin rlabs can mang po dang | gzhan yang mgon po gur dang | phyag bzhi pa | tshogs bdag dang | ha nu mantha sogs phyi nang so so'i lha sku dang | lha khang yang shin tu mang bar dkar chag las bshad la rgyus yod dag las kyang dngos su thos | grong khyer[5] ye rang du rdo rje gdan gyi zhing gi bkod dang | tshogs bdag thim par grags pa'i pha bong glang po che'i dbyibs[6] can | ri 'bigs byed kyi rtse nas ston pas 'phangs par grags pa'i rdo sogs rten byin rlabs can mang po dang | kho khom du sgrol ma gsung byon ma byin rlabs shin tu che ba dang | gau sān dag gis bla ma dha ta tri zer ba'i tsa ra ṇa pa ta sogs phyi nang so so dang thun mong la byin rlabs che bar grags pa'i lha rten mang po yod ces thos | grong khyer yam bu'i nub byang du rgyang grags gcig tsam gyi sar sambho ga'am 'phags pa shing kun tu grags pa'i mchod rten chen po bum pa man chad ri'i rnam[7] pa la rtsi shing sna tshogs skyes pa (4–b) bum pa'i nang du 'od dpag med kyis[8] gtso ba'i rigs lnga'i sku bzhugs shing shin tu mtho ba chos 'khor bcu gsum tsam la yang 'dom bdun cu lhag longs[9] pa yod | mchod rten de glang ru lung bstan gyi mdo las gsungs[10] pa'i mchod rten go ma sa la gandha dang | sangs rgyas 'od srung gi sku

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[1] Origo: grag
[2] Origo: zhug
[3] Origo: mtshan
[4] Error: 'jigs
[5] Origo: khyar
[6] Origo: dbyib
[7] Origo: rnams
[8] Origo: kyi
[9] Origo: long
[10] Origo: gsung



gdung mchod rten yin par grags che yang go ma sa la gandha li yul dang | 'od srung gi sku gdung rgya gar na yod pas lo rgyus[1] de dag la yid ches[2] dka' mod byin rlabs che nges shig yin par 'dug | grong khyer yam bu'i byang shar du mchod rten bya rung kha shor[3] ram rgya bal yongs la bo dha zhes grags pa yod | rten de'i ngos re la lha tshangs pa'i 'dom re yod par grags kyang[4] ngos re la mi'i 'dom brgya re dang dpangs[5] su yang de tsam yod ces thos | 'di yi lo rgyus[6] rnying ma pa'i gter chos zhig na sngon bya rdzi ma zhig gis mchod rten bzhengs nas rgyal po las sa bslangs pas | rgyal pos sa gnang rjes blon po rnams kyis bkag kyang rgyal pos ma gsan pas kha shor du ming btags pa dang | mchod rten ma grub gong du ma bya rdzi ma de shi | de'i bu gsum gyis lhag ma bzhengs te grub rjes smon lam legs par btab pas mkhan slob chos gsum du skye ba bzhes | khong rnams la glang gcig yod pa smon lam log pa'i dbang gis glang dar du skye ba blangs tshul sogs lo rgyus[7] mang tsam bshad 'dug pa dang | yang sngon 'khor lo sdom pas 'jigs byed nag po 'khor dang bcas pa btul ba'i tshe 'jigs byed kyi 'khor ma mo brgyad kyi dur khrod brgyad so sor mchod rten re re bzhengs pa'i nang tshan gyi gcig tu bshad pa yang yod la | rgya gar pa rnams dang bal po'i shrisṭha sogs la gong du bshad pa de dag las gzhan pa'i lo rgyus[8] 'ga' re bshad rgyu yod tshod 'dug na yang | mchod rten 'di dang mi ring par nā ga ta lā pa zer ba dur khrod kyi mtsho dang | de'i khar dur khrod kyi shing rkang gcig pa dang | yang mchod rten dang shin tu nye sar dur khrod kyi me sngon dus nas da bar 'chi ma (5–a) myong ba agmā tha zer ba dang | mchod rten gyi nye 'khor du skabs skabs su mkha 'gro ma rnams tshogs pa yang skye bo phal cher gyis mthong ba sogs rgyu mtshan du ma dang bcas pa'i phyir dur khrod kyi mchod rten du bshad pa 'thad shas che ba yin | mchod rten 'di dang mchod rten 'phags pa shing kun gnyis ka las dus bzang rnams su ring bsrel phebs pa dad ldan dag gis rnyed pa mang bas | deng sang sangs rgyas 'od srung gi 'phel gdung yin zer ba mang po yod pa phal cher de nas byung bar 'dug | grong khyer yam bu'i byang phyogs nyin

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[1] Origo: rgyud
[2] Origo: ched
[3] Origo: shar
[4] Origo: yang
[5] Origo: dpang
[6] Origo: rgyud
[7] Origo: rgyud
[8] Origo: rgyud

phyed tsam gyi sar ri bo 'bigs byed du grags pa'i ri chen po yod pa'i rtse mor rgyal ba shākya thub pa'i bzhugs khri dngos dang | de dang mi ring bar shākya thub pa'i yab dang yum gyi sku gdung mchod rten yang yod ces dkar chag na bshad 'dug par yid ches dka'o | 'on kyang shākya rnams 'phags skyes po'i dmag gis bcom skabs su kun dga' bo'i nye rigs shākya 'ga' zhig bal yul du thon par 'dul ba lung sogs las gsungs pas | de rnams kyis [1] bcom ldan 'das kyi yab dang yum gyi ched du bzhengs pa zhig yin nam snyam | yang de'i phyogs dang nye sa gcig tu bya rgod phung po'i ri yin zer ba'i ri zhig dang | bskal pa bzang po'i sangs rgyas stong gis thog mar thugs bskyed pa'i gnas yin zer ba zhig dang | bya rung kha shor bzhengs mkhan gyi ma bya rdzi ma de sangs rgyas pa'i gnas yin zer ba sogs ya mtshan can mang po yod ces | mnga' ris [2] grub chen gyis bshad 'dug pa ji lta [3] ba bzhin du khas [4] len dka' yang gnas byin rlabs can dag yin tshod 'dug | grong khyer yam bu'i shar phyogs yam bu dang kho khom gnyis kyi bar du de ba pa ṭan zer ba'i grong yod pa der gnas nyer bzhi'i nang tshan sku'i 'khor lo'i byang rtsibs gri ha (5–b) de ba da'am | kyai rdo rje'i rgyud las nai pa la zhes yongs grags kyi ming nas gsungs [5] pa bal po'i yul gyi zhing skyongs la lha chen po'i mchod pa'i rten du byin pa'i mtshan ma pa su pa ti shwa ra 'am bod rnams la gu lang [6] du grags pa yod | de dang nye bar u ma'i rten kurje shwa ri zer ba yod pa der chang gi dri ro bro ba'i chu mig zhig kyang yod ces thos | kho khom gyi shar phyogs su zhag gcig lhag tsam gyi sar de bzhin gshegs pa shākya thub pas sngon slob pa lam gyi gnas skabs su stag mor sku lus sbyin par btang ba'i sku rus kyi mchod rten du grags pa yod pa de ni gser 'od dam pa'i mdo sogs las dngos su gsung pa'i stag mor lus sbyin pa po de'i sku rus bzhugs pa'i mchod rten min yang | byang sems rgyu'i theg pa la brten nas sangs rgyas kyi go 'phang mngon du mdzad pa rnams kyis slob pa lam gyi gnas skabs su sku dang yan lag sogs grangs kyis mi lang ba gtong dgos pas mnga' ris [7] grub chen gyis mdzad pa'i gnas bshad ltar khas len rung ba yin | 'ga' zhig gis bdag cag gi ston pas sngon slob pa lam gyi gnas

[1] Origo: kyi
[2] Origo: ri
[3] Origo: lha
[4] Origo: mkhas
[5] Origo: gsung
[6] Origo: ling
[7] Origo: ri



skabs su bya dka' ba'i mdzad pa bsam gyis mi khyab pa mdzad par mdo sde du ma nas gsung pa rnams drang don dgongs pa can 'ba' zhig tu bshad pa ni 'dod pa'i lha'i 'phrin las 'ba' zhig tu gyur [1] bar zad do || gnya' nang nas bal yul du 'gro ba'i lam dang nye ba'i grong sam bdzra dzwa ki ni'am phyi pa rnams la sam khu nā ra nir grags pa rje btsun rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i sku byin rlabs shin tu che ba dang | de'i nye 'khor du grub thob gya bzhi'i brag phug dang sku sogs yod ces thos | yang skyid [2] grong brgyud de bal yu du 'gro ba'i lam dang nye sar yod pa'i grong n.ya [3] ko ṭa dang mi ring par ri phug gcig tu gau sān sthān zer ba'i gnas yod pa der chu 'khyil mtsho dang 'dra ba zhig gi nang na rdo las rang byung du grub pa'i sku brnyan mi'i rnam [4] pa can | kha dog (6–a) sngo skya la gdong gzan ngur smrig gis g.yog te gan rkyal du nyal ba lta bu sbrul mgo'i gdengs [5] ka dgu can zhig yod pa | de rgya gar gyi mu stegs pa rnams kyis dbang phyug tu bzung nas shin tu mos pa rgya gar gyi yul thams cad du grags che bas rgya gar dang bal yul gyi nang pa sku brnyan de la mi dad pa mang la | lhag par bod rnams kyis klu gan rkyal lam | klu gdol pa zhes shin tu nas kyang mi dad pa mang mod | 'di'i lo rgyus [6] sngon lha dang lha min rnams kyis bdud rtsi 'dod nas rgya mtsho bsrubs pa na | sngon la nyi ma dang | zla ba dang | dpal mo dang | rta mgrin ring sogs rim [7] par thon rjes dug gi skyes bu mgo dgu pa byung zhing | da dung bsrubs pa na dug bum pa gang byung ba lha ma yin rnams kyi lag tu chud na lha rnams la gnod kyis dogs nas dug bum pa dang bcas pa dbang phyug gis mid pa na dug gis mthus de'i mgrin pa'i kha dog sngon por gyur zhing | lus tshig nas ma bzod par gangs ri'i khrod kyi chu klung grang mo zhig gi nang du zhugs te nyal ba'i sku brnyan lha rnams kyis gnas der bzhengs pa yin zhes phyi rol pa dag zer ba ni thun mong gi snang tshul tsam zhig las dngos po'i gnas tshod la 'phags pa thugs rje chen po'i sku dngos yin | rgyu mtshan ci'i phyir zhe na | mu stegs pa rnams la ni dbang phyug la dad pa mang yang de'i bzhengs pa'i lugs srol cher ma dar ba dang | thugs rje chen po la yang phyugs bdag gi cha byad

[1] Origo: 'gyur
[2] Origo: bskyid
[3] Written: ཎྱ n.ya, not: ཉ nya
[4] Origo: rnams
[5] Origo: gdeng
[6] Origo: rgyud
[7] Origo: rims

can mang ba dang | phyugs bdag nyid kyang 'phags pa'i sprul par za ma tog bkod pa'i mdo sogs las gsungs [1] pa'i phyir ro || 'o na c'i phyir phyi [2] pa rnams la dbang phyug gi skur grags zhe na | sku 'di sangs rgyas 'jig [3] rten du ma byon pa'i snga rol du 'dzam bu gling du bzhugs shing | de dus 'jig rten na dbang phyug las mthu che ba 'ga' ma grags pas phyi pa rnams la de ltar grags la | de tsam la brten nas phyi pa'i lhar (6-b) 'dzin par mi bya'o || gzhan yang ri brag gi yul shi la na gar dang | bod kyi sa mtshams su bzhugs pa'i bha dra nā tha dang | wa ra nā si'i kai tār nā tha dang | mnga' ri'i phyogs su bzhugs pa'i ti la ka nā tha sogs kyang de dang 'dra ba yin | yang bal po rdzong zer ba'i grong dang nye sar pu ṭa nī la kanṭha zer ba gong dang phal cher 'dra ba gcig dang | mchod rten 'phags pa shing kun dang nye sar bha lak nī kanṭha zer ba sngon ma gnyis dang phal cher 'dra ba gcig kyang yod | 'di gnyis kyi lo rgyus [4] sngon bal yul gyi rgyal po sdig sgrib che ba zhig gau sān sthān du 'phags pa mjal bar song ba na ci yang ma mthong bar phyir log nas blon po rnams la rgyu mtshan dris pas | blon po rnams kyis snang brnyan gyi gnas tshul smras pa thos te lan 'gar song kyang ma mthong ba na | rgyal pos blon po rnams la bzo bo dag khug la gau sān sthān na yod pa'i sku ci 'dra ba zhig yul gzhan du bzo chug zhes bka' babs pas blon po rnams kyis n.ya ko ṭa dang nye sar sku bzhengs pa yin la / de la yang rgyal po lan 'gar mjal bar song bas ci yang ma mthong ba na | yam bu dang shin tu nye bar bha lak nī la kanṭha bzhengs shing rgyal po mjal khar song bas gzod sku mthong zhes gau sān dag las dngos su thos | de gsum ka la bod rnams kyis klu gan rkyal dang klu gdol pa sogs zer zhing rgyu mtshan 'ga' zhig smra bar byed mod | de ni rgya gar ba rnams kyis sku 'di'i mtshan nī la kanṭha zer ba bal po dag lce mi bde bas zur chag ste li la kan cha 'dra ba zhig zer bas bod dag gis li la klu dang kancha gan rkyal du go ba'i rgyu mtshan gyis de ltar smra ba tsam las gtad so gang yang med do || mchod rten gnyis kyi bar dang nye khor du ston pa shākya thub pa dang | 'phags pa lo ki shwa ra | rje btsun [5] sgrol ma | mgon po gur | rgyal chen rnam [6] sras | lha chen dbang phyug | tshogs kyi bdag po | (7-a) rgyal po sku lnga

[1] Origo: gsung
[2] Origo: phyis
[3] Origo: 'jigs
[4] Origo: rgyud
[5] Origo: brtsun
[6] Origo: rnams



sogs 'jig rten las 'das pa dang ma 'das pa'i lha mang po'i snang brnyan yod ces thos | yang na ya ko ṭa dang nye sar ga ru ḍa na rā nā zer ba bcom ldan 'das mkha' lding dbang po'i sku byin rlabs che ba zhig yod pa las skabs skabs su rdul chu thon pa phyis pas ras kyi dum bu mgul du btags na klu nad thams cad thub zer | de'i nye 'khor du chu mig zhig gi nang na mar me 'dra ba'i me lhab lhab 'bar ba zhig yod pa 'ga' zhig gis khyung dang 'ga' zhig gis dbang phyug gi mtshan ma yin zer | thang zing gis chu de'i nang du dngos po ci 'phangs tshad las me 'bar bar bshad pa las 'di yin gyi gsal kha can bshad mi 'dug | kho khom gyi shar gnya' nang brgyud de bal yul du 'gro ba'i lam dang nye ba'i rdō lā kha zer ba'i grong du rgyal chen 'jigs sde 'am mon pu pu trar [1] grags pa'i sku dang lha de khog zhugs byed pa'i lha pa yang yod | spyir bal yul du lha 'di'i sku mang yang gnas 'dir yod pa'i sku ni shin tu gnyan par grags pa zhig yin | gnya' nang dang bal yul gyi mtshams [2] su rje btsun mi la'i grub phug dang | de dang nye sar de nyid kyi phyag zhabs sogs kyi rjes [3] yang yod | tsam khu zer ba'i grong dang nye sa zhig tu pha dam pa'i grub phug dang der de nyid kyi sku dang phyag zhabs kyi rjes sogs dang | grong ye rang gi lha nub sthān ko ṭa dang mi ring bar dakṣi na kā li zer ba ma gcig 'dod khams bdag mo'i sku shin tu gnyan pa dang | yang der slob dpon chen po padma [4] kā ra'i grub phug yang le shod du grags pa dang | klu dkar nag gnas pa'i mtsho gnyis bcas rten dang gnas ya mtshan can mang po yod ces dkar chag las bshad la mjal ba dag gi ngag las kyang thos so || gnas de nas lho phyogs su ri bo tsandra ki ri zer ba shin tu mtho ba zhig yod pa de la 'dzegs te phyin pa na tsi ti lam zer ba'i grong khyer gog po rgya che ba zhig tu phyin par 'gyur la | grong khyer der sngon bskal pa rdzogs ldan las (7-b) cung zad mar 'grib pa'i dus su lha ma yin he ma pa ti 'am ri dbang zer ba rgyal po byas te lha mang po mchod sbyin la bos nas dbang phyug chen po ma bos pa na | ri dbang gi bu mo ri skyes ma zer ba zhig yod pa des ri dbang la yab lha rnams kyi nang na lha drag po zer ba mthu shin tu che ba zhig yod pas de ma bos na mi legs zhes mang du smras shing | rang nyid kyang de'i chung mar 'gyur dgos tshul sogs mang po

[1] Origo: drar
[2] Origo: mtsham
[3] Origo: brjes
[4] Origo: parma

smras pa na | lha ma yin ri dbang lha drag po la mi dga' yang rang gi bu mo'i ngo bzlog[1] ma nus pas pho nya mngags[2] te dbang phyug mchod sbyin la 'bod du btang ba na des kyang mi 'dod bzhin du bos pa shes nas | rang nyid bram ze rgan po gzugs shin tu mi sdug pa lus gcer bu mi rus kyi thal bas byugs[3] shing skra grol | lag na mi'i thod pa dang cang te'u dang mi mgo rkam rlon rnying pa gsum gyis mtshan pa'i kha ṭam rtse gsum pa dang | mi'i rgyu ma la brgyus pa'i mi mgo'i 'phreng ba sogs thogs te ba lang la zhon nas smyon pa'i cha byad can zhig gi gzungs su sprul te 'ong ba na | ri dbang shin tu nas kyang mi dga' bar gyur te khyod 'ongs pa 'phyis so zhes lha rnams kyi gral mjug[4] tu bzhag pas | lha drag po khros te cang mi smra bar ser la 'bur ba'i mig gsum 'khyug cing sdang mig tu bltas pa na | mchod sbyin gyi khang pa mchod rjes dang bcas pa dang | ri dbang gi 'khor mang po yang mes tshig | ri dbang nyid kyang 'tshig par rtsam pas | ri dbang 'jigs ste bu mo ri skyes ma drag po la phul te me zhi bar gsol ba btab pas drag po mgu nas me zhi bar byas te lha mo ri skyes khrid de song ba'i gnas yin zhes mu stegs pa rnams zer la | de bden mi bden gang yin kyang deng sang yul de'i mi rnams la 'au la zer ba'i tshad rims ngan pa zhig rgyun par 'byung zhes thos | grong rnying de nas lho phyogs su e ka damṣḍa zer ba'i lam 'phrang dog po zhig brgyud de nyin gcig tsam phyin pa na tā ma khān zer ba grong chung 'ga' zhig yod par slebs par (8–a) 'gyur la | de nas yang lho phyogs su cung zad song ba na ri chen po rgya gar gyi skad du bhi ma phe ta zer zhing | bal po rnams kyis[5] ci sa pa ni zer ba'i ri bal yul gyi phyogs ha cang mi mtho yang rgya gar gyi phyogs shin tu mtho ba la ri rtser bal po'i so pa sdod pa zhig yod pa der slebs yong la | 'di tshun bal po'i yul du gtogs pa yin | bal yul gyi mi rigs la bal po dngos dang | de ma yin pa rgya gar ba dang | bod kyi rigs can dang | klo pa dang | mon pa'i rigs su gtogs pa sogs mi rigs mang po yod | mi rigs de dag las bal po rnams nang pa spyi dang khyad par theg pa chen po dang | de'i nang nas kyang rnal 'byor bla med la mos pa mang zhing | lhag par go bāl dang | banṭa dang | u tā si | dza ya si sogs kyi rigs phal che ba ni rje btsun rdo rje rnal 'byor mas gtso ba'i

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[1] Origo: bzlogs
[2] Origo: mngag
[3] Origo: byug
[4] Origo: 'jug
[5] Error: kyi



mkha' 'gro ma'i rgyud nyams su len pa yin pas sngon dus su pham mthing pa sku mched dang | bal po padma[1] badzra sogs grub pa thob pa'i rnal 'byor pa mang po byon pa yin la | deng sang yang sbas pa'i rnal 'byor pa dang grub pa thob pa yang re gnyis yod tshod 'dug | gorṣa sogs rgya gar ba'i rigs can rnams dbang phyug sogs lha chen po rnams skyabs gnas su khas len pa'i phyi rol pa sha stag yin | gzhan yang yul der dzo kir grags pa gsang sngags sgra ji bzhin par khas len zhing lus la phyag rgya lngas brgyan pa | lag na cang te'u dang thod pa dang | kha ṭam ga thogs pa mu stegs pa'i rigs gtogs zhig kyang yod ces thos | gzhan kun tu rgyu dang tshangs spyod pa sogs mu stegs pa dang gorṣa | dzo ki phyi nang gi sde gnyis sogs rab tu byung bar khas 'ches[2] ba mang yang yul de nyid kyi mi re gnyis tsam las phal cher rgya gar nas 'ongs pa sha stag[3] yin zer | yul de ka'i khongs su gtogs pa'i ghu rin sogs mon pa dang | thag pa sogs nye 'khor gyi bod kyi rigs can rnams phal cher bon dang (8–b) gsang bsngags snga 'gyur sogs la mos[4] pa dang | bka' dge sogs kyi chos lugs 'dzin pa yang 'ga' re yod tshod snang | yang mā kra zer ba'i mon pa rigs gcig dang | kha si zer ba kla klo'i rigs zhig kyang yul de kha'i khongs su yod pa de dag phyi nang gang yang khas mi len pa klo pa kha khra 'dra ba sha stag yin yang | yul dang grogs kyi dbang gis phyi nang so so dang thun mong la dad pa re gnyis yod tshod 'dug go | | |

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[1] Origo: parma
[2] Origo: che
[3] Origo: dag
[4] Origo: mod

## TRANSLATION

(Folio 3–b) If one describes the roads which go to the country (of India) together with the great pilgrimage places of its various regions and the benedictory symbols (*rten*) [1] found there, (it goes without saying that) in general, there are many roads which go from various neighboring countries, such as China, to India. In the central province (Magadha), which is the middle of the five provinces of India, there are pilgrimage places such as Rdo–rje–gdan [2], where those among the thousand perfect leaders of excellent (karmic) inheritance who have come in the past and who are to come in the future, such as the Incomparable King of the Shākya (Śākyamuni), have already performed, and shall perform, inconceivable acts of existing bodily and demonstrating such deeds as the way one is born, becomes fully enlightened, turns the wheel of the (religious) law, and then passes from misery [3]. Those

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[1] The literal meaning of *rten* is " support " and by extension, it means " something concrete that supports an abstract concept »; thus, it is a visible representation or a " symbol ". Within the Tibetan Buddhist frame of reference, there are three symbols relating to the Buddha: *sku–rten* " symbol of the body ", or " an image "; *gsung–rten* " symbol of speech ", or " a book "; and *thugs–rten* " symbol of the mind ". Since it is impossible to symbolize the mind per se, it is represented by the *mchod–rten* " symbol of oblation ", or stūpa. A *mchod–rten* is an architectural structure, which serves as a shrine for relics or as a cenotaph. (For illustrations and an explanation of the *mchod–rten*, see Waddell, pp. 261–64). When the text refers to the *rten* or " symbols " to be found at a given location, it means the images, books, and *mchod–rten* (stūpa). The phrase " benedictory symbols " (*rten byin rlabs can*) means that the " symbols " possess the power to bestow blessings upon those who perform the prescribed acts of veneration to them.

[2] Rdo–rje–gdan is the Tibetan translation of Vajrāsana (modern day Bodhgayā), where Śākyamuni obtained enlightenment and became the Buddha. (For an indigenous Tibetan account of Vajrāsana, see Roerich, pp. 63–76).

[3] The expression " demonstrating the way " (*tshul bstan*) is used to refer to deeds performed by Buddhas, bodhisattvas, and emanation–body lamas (*sprul–sku bla–ma*), who, because of their metaphysical nature, are not subject to the karmic law governing physical

who wish to visit those places, in the course of traveling from such (regions) as Dbus-Gtsang [4], arrive first at the country of Nepal. After visiting the symbols there, if they go on to India, the distance is short and the road rather easy.

After traveling through our own Tibetan (districts) such as Gnya'-nang [5] and Skyid-grong of Mang-yul [6], and crossing many rivers and narrow ledges which make it difficult to travel southward, if one then goes on for about six or seven days, one arrives at the center of the country of Nepal. That country, which is great in wealth and filled with many people, is a mixture of rocky mountains, forests, and plains, where it is suitable to plant various kinds of grain. Heat and cold are minimized in both summer and winter, and except on few occasions, the harvests are usually good. Due to the abundance of wealth and religion (*chos*), it is no mean country.

In the middle region (*gling*), which is among the three regions in that country [7], there are three large towns: one is known in the language

activity in saṃsāra, such as being born or dying. When ordinary creatures observe the deeds of such manifestations of Buddhahood, it is thought – but incorrectly – that they are performing physical activity governed by karma; whereas they are only " showing the way in which one performs such deeds " for didactic purposes.

4 Dbus-Gtsang refers collectively to the two provinces of central Tibet. Lhasa is the capital city of Dbus and Shigatse (Gzhis-ka-rtse) is the principal town of Gtsang.

5 The Gnya'-nang region comprises the upper reaches of the Bhotia Kosia river down to the border of Nepal. Elsewhere in *'Dzam-gling*, Bla-ma Btsan-po refers to this area as Nya-lam nya-nang (p. 65). Gnya'-nang (= Nya-nang) is the name of the region and Nya-lam is the name of the *rdzong*, or administrative headquarters for the district officer (*Rdzong-dpon*). Nya-lam is marked on modern maps as Nilam or also Nyalam Dzong. It is known as Kuti to the Nepalese.

6 Skyid-grong is the name of a *rdzong* located about fifty miles north of Kathmandu. It appears on modern maps as Kirong or Kyerong. Mang-yul is the name of the region in which Skyid-grong is located.

7 Although Bla-ma Btsan-po refers to the " three regions " (*gling gsum*) of Nepal, he does not give any information about them: he only states that Kathmandu and the other villages listed are located in the middle *gling*. Since the section on Nepal's religious geography deals only with the Kathmandu valley and the narrow corridor running north from there to Skyid-grong and Gnya'-nang in Tibet and south to India via Bhimpedi, perhaps the division of " three regions " simply means the " eastern region ", the " middle ", and the " western ". On the other hand, it is possible that Bla-ma Btsan-po had reference to the " three kingdoms ", into which the Kathmandu valley was divided prior to the conquest and unification of the valley by Prithvi Narayan in 1769. In view of the fact that Bla-ma Btsan-po composed his geographical work in Peking, China, in 1820, even though



of India as Ka-tha-māṇḍu, that is to say *Shing-dkyil* [8], and as Yam-bu to the Newars (Bal-po) [9] and the Tibetans in general. It has about sixteen thousand households. The one called Pa-ṭan is also known as Ye-rang [10]. (Folio 4-a) Pa-ṭhi-gom (is also known as) Kho-khom [11]. There are also many small villages, such as Sam-khu [12],

he had to rely on out-dated Tibetan materials, he certainly must have known that the Gurkhas ruled Nepal during the Tibeto-Nepalese war in 1792. Moreover, *gling* is not used in other parts of the *'Dzam-gling* to refer to " kingdoms " or " principalities "; therefore, I have translated this passage as the " three regions ", stipulating that the identification remains uncertain.

8 Ka-tha-māṇḍu is Kathmandu, the capital city of Nepal. It was originally called Kāntipur, a name still found in use. Then, during the reign of Lakṣmī Narasiṃha Malla in the 15th century, a large, wooden hall was constructed in the city. The name of the hall, Kāṣṭha-maṇḍapa (" Wooden Temple ") in Sanskrit, is called Kāṭmaṇḍu in the vernacular. It was taken over as the name of the city in time. Bla-ma Btsan-po defines Ka-tha-māṇḍu (= Kāṣṭha-maṇḍapa) as Shing-dkyil, or " Wooden Circle " instead of " Wooden Temple ". Perhaps he misunderstood maṇḍapa as maṇḍala (Tibetan: dkyil-'khor), " circle ". (For the history and derivations of the names of Kathmandu, see Lévi, I, pp. 52–54; Kirkpatrick, pp. 158–61).

9 It is interesting to note that throughout the section on Nepal, Bla-ma Btsan-po makes a distinction between the Newars, whom he calls Bal-po, and the other peoples there. Whenever this distinction was pertinent, I have translated Bal-po as " Newar "; when not, then as " Nepalese ".

10 Pa-ṭan, known in Sanskrit as Lalita-pattana, and also called Lalitpur, is the Patan of modern maps just south of Kathmandu. Patan was the capital of one of the three kingdoms of the valley prior to the conquest of Prithvi Narayan. The Tibetan name, Ye-rang, is a rendering of the Newari name Yala, or Yalai. (On the history and variations of the names for Patan, see Lévi, I, pp. 60–62. On Patan's temples and environs, see Landon, pp. 216–20; Kirkpatrick, pp. 161–62).

11 Pa-ṭhi-gom, known in Sanskrit as Bhaktapura, is the Bhatgaon of modern maps; a city located about seven miles east of Kathmandu on the confluence of the Hanumati and Kansavati rivers. (On the history of the names for Bhatgaon, see Lévi, I, pp. 65–66; Kirkpatrick, pp. 163–64). Bhatgaon was one of the three kingdoms of the valley during the Malla period. (On its temples and environs, see Landon, I, pp. 216–20). In view of Bla-ma Btsan-po's positive equation of Bhatgaon with Kho-khom (*pa ṭhi gom am kho khom*, folio 4-a), it is interesting to note Lévi's discussion on the identification of *Kho-bom*, which appears in the dictionaries of Sarat Chandra Das and H. A. Jäschke as the Tibetan name for Kathmandu. *Kho-bom* corresponds closely to the Newari name *Khopo* for Bhatgaon; whereas, the spelling *Kho-khom* used by Bla-ma Btsan-po corresponds to the *Ku-k'u-mu* (Lévi's *Kou-k'ou-mou*, *loc. cit.*) of Chinese materials. It seems that Lévi was correct when he wrote: " On est tenté de croire que les lexicographes ont par erreur substitué Katmandou à Bhatgaon " (*loc. cit.*, p. 65).

12 Sam-khu is the village of Sankhu located about ten miles east-northeast of Kathmandu. Its importance derived from its being on the trade route between the Kathmandu valley and Tibet via Nyalam Dzong (= Kuti). (Cf. Lévi, II, pp. 381–82; Landon, II, p. 35).

Kirta–spu–ra [13], Tsi–ti–lam [14], Na–ya–ko–ṭa [15], Stha–na–ko–ṭa [16], De–ba–pa–ṭan [17], and Shi–ba–pu–ra [18]. It is also said that there are eighty-four small communities there.

As for the symbols of the body, speech, and mind [19], and the special pilgrimage places located in that region: in the town of Yam–bu (Kathmandu), there are many benedictory symbols, such as the "two brothers" (called) Jo–bo Ja–ma–li and A–kam–bu–kam, which is called Ka–ru–dzu–dzu by the Newars: these (two) are among the "four brothers" 'Phags–pa [20]. There too is the *Yum* brought from the realm

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[13] Kirta–spu–ra, the Kirtipur of modern maps, is located about two and one-half miles southwest of Kathmandu. According to tradition, the Emperor Aśoka is said to have built a stūpa on the hill of Kirtipur. In the late 18th century, the inhabitants of Kirtipur inflicted the first defeat on the forces of Prithvi Narayan; a victory for them that brought cruel retaliation once Prithvi Narayan conquered the valley. The noses and lips of all the male adults of Kirtipur were cut off. (Landon, I, p. 228; Lévi, I, pp. 66–67; Kirkpatrick, pp. 383–84).

[14] Tsi–ti–lam is the Chitlong of modern maps, a village located about eleven air miles southwest of Kathmandu on the road between Thankot and Bhimphedi (Lévi, II, p. 314).

[15] Na–ya–ko–ṭa, the Nayakot of modern maps, is a village located about seventeen air miles north–northwest of Kathmandu on the trade route between Kathmandu and Skyid–grong in Tibet. (For a brief description, see Landon, II, pp. 26–28).

[16] Stha–na–ko–ṭa is the village of Thankot, which lies at the foot of the Chandragiri pass on the north side, some seven miles west of Kathmandu (Landon, I, pp. 180–81).

[17] De–ba–pa–ṭan is Deopatan, a village about two miles east–northeast of Kathmandu. It is reportedly the oldest village in the valley (Lévi, I, p. 67), dating from the 3rd century B.C. (Landon, I, p. 184).

[18] Bla–ma Btsan–po lists Shi–ba–pu–ra as a village in the Kathmandu valley; however, it seems he has mistaken the name of a mountain for that of a village. That mountain, called Sheopuri in Landon (I, p. 181) and Śivapuri in Lévi (I, p. 367), lies on the north rim of the valley.

[19] See note 1.

[20] The statement that the images of Jo–bo Ja–ma–li and A–kam–bu–kam are located in Kathmandu is in need of rectification. The expression "four brothers 'Phags–pa" (*'phags–pa mched–bzhi*) refers to four famous statues of Avalokiteśvara. In the section on Tibet in his geography, Bla–ma Btsan–po states that the "brother" image called Jo–bo Dza–ma–li (the orthographic variation from Ja–ma–li is insignificant) is located at Khur–chags, i.e., Kojarnath on the banks of the Karnali river near Taklakot, and it is called Khur–chags Jo–bo (*'Dzam–gling*, p. 62). Regarding this identification, it is interesting to note that George Roerich, in his translation of the *Deb–ther Sngon–po*, inserted the following information in parentheses: "... 'Phags–pa Wa–ti (at sKyi–roṅ; sKyi–roṅ Jo–bo, one of the three sacred images of Tibet: Lha–sa'i Jo–bo, sKyi–roṅ–gi Jo–bo, Kho–char Jo–bo)..." (BA, II, p. 528). Kho–char and Khur–chags are variant spellings of the same name. Unfortunately, Roerich gave no indication as to the source of his list. In contradiction to these



of the Nāgas by the master Klu–sgrub (Nāgārjuna) [21], and an image of Sgrol–ma (Tārā), which is said to have been saved from destruction

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statements by Bla–ma Btsan–po and Roerich, an erudite lama of the Sa–skya sect, – to which the monastery at Khojarnath belongs – denies that the image there is one of the "four brothers". Furthermore, this Sa–skya lama supplied the following list: *Rang byon 'phags pa mched bzhi | skyid grong jo bo wa ti | lha sa'i lo keshwa ra | bal yul gyi dza ma li dang | dbu gang bzhi |* "The four brothers 'Phags–pa, which are self–originated, are Skyid–grong Jo–bo Wa–ti, Lokeśvara of Lha–sa, and Dza–ma–li and Dbu–gang of Nepal, these four". (written communication from Sde–gzhung sprul–sku Kun–dga' nyi–ma, dated 4 October, 1965). It appears that there are two traditions concerning the location of the image Jo–bo Ja–ma–li. One tradition identifies it with the image Kho–char Jo–bo, located at the monastery in Kojarnath, which is classified as one of the famous "brother" images of Avalokiteśvara (*'Dzam–gling, loc. cit.*; Roerich, *loc. cit.*). The second tradition is that the Jo–bo Ja–ma–li image is in Kathmandu as stated by Bla–ma Btsan–po and the Sde–gzhung sprul–sku, which is corroborated by *Shing–kun* and *Bal–gnas*.

According to *Shing–kun*, "In Kathmandu, there is the well of sandalwood from which originated the four brothers Jo–bo, and there is the White 'Ja'–ma–li, and Bod Thang Mgon–po" (*yam bu na jo bo mched bzhi'i 'khrungs pa'i tsan dan gyi khron chu dang | 'ja' ma li dkar mo dang | bod thang mgon po yod |* folio 6–b).

According to *Bal–gnas*, "As for the White Jo–bo 'Dzam–gling (known in Newari as) Dzan–bhāl: this image of Avalokiteśvara, which originated in paradise and speaks, bestows benediction and is also called (in Nepali) Ma–chin–dha–ra–nā–tha (*jo bo 'dzam gling dkar mo | dzan bhāl | spyan ras gzigs sku 'di zhing las 'khrungs shing gsung byon byin rlabs can ma chin dha ra nā tha yang zhu |* folio 5–b).

The image Bod Thang Mgon–po mentioned in *Shing–kun* above is identified as the Mahā–kā–la image at Ṭong–ṭi–khel in *Bal–gnas* (folio 6–b), which is the Mahākāla image kept in a temple in Tundi Khel (Lévi, I, p. 319).

The Ma–chin–dha–ra–nā–tha of *Bal–gnas* is the Nepali name of Matsyendra Nātha. The image referred to here is the white Matsyendra Nātha of Kathmandu (Lévi, II, p. 59). In none of the works consulted did the name Ja–ma–li (Bla–ma Btsan–po's orthography) or Dzan–bhāl (*Bal–gnas*, folio 5–b) occur; however, in a personal communication, Professor Bhuwanlal Joshi, a native of Kathmandu, informed me that the area of Kathmandu where the temple of the white Matsyendranath image is located is called *Jamal*. The image itself is known also by its Newari name of *Jammadeo* (written communication dated 2 November, 1965). This, then, is the Dzan–bhāl of *Bal–gnas*. Thus, the Jo–bo Ja–ma–li of Bla–ma Btsan–po's geography is the same image as the White, or Seto, Matsyendranāth, which is taken annually in a religious procession through the main streets of Kathmandu to Lagan. According to Lévi, this image is of Samantabhadra, whereas the one in Patan is of Padmapāṇi (Lévi, II, p. 59).

Now for the identification of the name *A kam bu kam*. Bla–ma Btsan–po states it is the name of *one* image in Kathmandu; but, he is incorrect on both counts. According to *Shing–kun*, "In Ye–rang (Patan), there are the two: Jo–bo A–khang and U–khang, which are mentioned in the *Maṇi bka'–'bum* (*ye rang na ma ṇi bka' 'bum na gsal ba'i jo bo a khang u khang gnyis dang |* folio 7–a). *Bal–gnas* gives the following additional information: "In

*For note 21, foll. page*

by the soldiers of Dza-ya Malla, King of the country Tsi-to-ro, and his brother [22]. There is also a *mchod-rten* (stūpa) there said to contain

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Ye-rang, are the A-khang and U-khang (known respectively as) Mīna Nātha and Macchīndra Nātha" (*ye rang a khang u khang | mi na nā ṭha | ma chin dha ra nā ṭha* | folio 7-a).

There appears uncertainty on the part of the Tibetan authors as to the correct orthography for the names. Bla-ma Btsan-po spells them *a kam bu kam*, whereas *Shing-kun* and *Bal-gnas* both render them *a khang u khang*. The earliest available spelling is *bu kham*, which appears in the 13th century biography of Chag Lo-tsā-ba Chos-rje-dpal (1197-1264). When visiting Nepal, he described the image of Bu-kham as being "...a miraculous image of Avalokiteśvara made of sandal wood, of red colour, in the aspect of a five year old boy". (Roerich, p. 54). Chag Lo-tsā-ba described the annual religious festival in which the image of Bu-kham is taken on procession, bathed, and repainted red (Roerich, *loc. cit.*). Thus, Bu-kham (also spelled Bu-kam, U-khang, and Dbu-gang) is the Red, or Rato, Matsyendranāth image preserved in its temple in Patan.

The identification of A-kam (also spelled A-khang) thus is certain. It is the Mīna Nātha image also kept in Patan. Mīna is the Nepali name for "child". This image is known as Chaknadeo in Newari (Joshi communication). According to Lévi, "...dans les listes des maîtres du Haṭha-yoga, Matsyendra Nātha est remplacé par Mīna Nātha, qui en est un simple synonyme. Le bouddhisme népalais connaît aussi ce nom; mais il considère Mīna Nātha comme le cadet de Matsyendra Nātha". (Lévi, I, p. 355).

The annual car festival, known as the Procession of Matsyendra Nātha, is described in some detail by Landon (I, p. 43; photograph facing II, p. 224) and more so by Lévi (II p. 44 *et. seq.*, III, pp. 179-80). A sketch showing the cars - one for Matsyendra Nātha and one for Mīna Nātha - is found at the end of Lévi, volume I.

Bla-ma Btsan-po's original statement should be corrected to read: Jo-bo Ja-ma-li, known as the white Matsyendra Nātha, is in Kathmandu; and A-kam, known as Mīna Nātha, and Bu-kam, known as the red Matsyendra Nātha, are in Patan.

21 *Yum* ("Mother") refers to the Prajñāpāramitā, which Nāgārjuna is said to have obtained from the Nāgas. According to the *Shing-kun*, "The *Yum*, which was brought from the realm of the Nāgas by Nāgārjuna (consists of) sixteen volumes written in gold from the river of golden sands on paper of lapis lazuli. It is kept in Thang-bai-dhari of Kathmandu" (*klu sgrub kyis klu yul nas gdan drangs pa'i yum po ti bcu drug baiḍurya'i shog bu la 'dzambu chu bo'i gser las bris pa yam bu'i thang bai dhari na bzhugs* || folios 4-a & 4-b). According to *Bal-gnas*, the *yum* is in a temple in Tha-mel-bhal (folio 5-a), which appears to be the northwestern suburb of Kathmandu called Thamel (Lévi, I, p. 58) and Thamale, or Thambahil (Landon, II, p. 28).

22 It appears that Bla-ma Btsan-po has compounded historical events with legends and folktales regarding the origin of this image of Tārā (*Sgrol-ma*). In his section on Tibet, he relates the story that the king of Tsi-tor (Chitor) and his brother fled their country, when it was attacked by the Turushka ruler named No-rom-ji, and they took an image of Sgrol-ma with them to Nepal (*'Dzam-gling*, pp. 62-63). Now in his section on Nepal, Bla-ma Btsan-po says it was brought to Nepal by Dza-ya Malla, King of Tsi-to-ro (Chitor), and his brother. There is a pious legend about two brothers named Jaya Malla and Phatta and their exploits in connection with Emperor Akbar's assault on Chitor (Landon, I, p. 219), and Bla-ma Btsan-po appears to have merged this legend with other events. The rulers in Nepal who trace their ancestory to the Rajputs of Chitor are the Gurkhas, who rose to



the turban of 'Phags-pa Shā-ri'i-bu [23]. Furthermore, there are a great many temples and images of various Buddhist and non-Buddhist (deities), such as Mgon-po-gur [24], Phyag-bzhi-pa [25], Tshogs-bdag [26], and Ha-nu-mantha [27]. (The above) is stated in the *dkar-chag* [28] and I

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power when Dravya Sah, in 1559, invaded Nepal and usurped the throne of Gorkha (Lévi, I, p. 254). However, the ruler in Nepal said to have brought an image with him was Harisiṃha Deva, who took refuge in Nepal in 1324 and set up an image in Bhatgaon. That image is called Taleju; also spelled Tulasī, Tulajā, and Talagu (Lévi, I, pp. 228, 378-79). It appears Bla-ma Btsan-po identified this image as Sgrol-ma and said it was brought from Chitor; but Harisiṃha Deva came from Simraongarh, the capital of Tirhut.

23 According to the *Shing-kun*, "In front of the palace, there is a stūpa made of gilt copper and the largest of several in Kathmandu. It contains the turban of Śāriputra and relics of the Buddha Kāśyapa" (*rgyal khang gi mdun na yam bu ya 'gal gyi che ba shā ri'i bu'i dbu thod dang | 'od srungs kyi ring bsrel bzhugs pa'i mchod rten gser zangs las grub pa yod* || folio 5-b). According to *Bal-gnas*, "The surplus earth and surplus stone stūpa (known as) Ka-ṭi-shim-bu: it is said that it was erected with the earth and stone left over from Swayambunāth. It is also said that it was brought into self-origination, through the magic power of a siddhā (*grub-thob*), from India. It is known as one containing the hair of Śāriputra's head" (*sa lhag rdo lhag mchod rten | ka ṭi shim bu | 'phags pa shing kun gyi sa lhag rdo lhag la bzhengs zer ba'ang 'dug | rgya gar nas grub thob gcig gi mthus rang byon du phebs pa'ang zer | shā ri bu'i dbu skra gzungs su bzhugs par grags* || folio 5-a). Ka-ṭi-shim-bu is the Kathisambu of Lévi (II, p. 334). This "surplus earth-and-stone stūpa" should not be confused with the one called Tsā-bhel-ko-tsa-yi-te, which is on the road between Kathmandu and Bodhnāth, and is said to have been erected from the left over materials of the Bodhnāth stūpa (cf. *Bal-gnas*, folio 8-b).

24 Mgon-po-gur, also written Gur-gyi mgon-po, "Lord of the Tent", is a Tibetan Buddhist "defender of the faith" (*chos-skyong*). For details on the various forms of this deity, see ODT, pp. 49-52.

25 Phyag-bzhi-pa, literally "The four-handed one", is not listed among the many deities in ODT; however, there is a tantric form of Avalokiteśvara known as Ṣadakṣarī, which has one head and four arms (Antoinette Gordon, *The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism*, Tokyo 1959, p. 65. Cf. also ODT, p. 480). A form with four arms is also common for Viṣṇu and Śiva (See Daniélou, pp. 234-35 and 333; respectively).

26 Tshogs-bdag (Sanskrit: Gaṇapati), literally "Lord of hosts", is an epithet of Gaṇesa, the son of Śiva. (For details on the forms and accounts of Gaṇapati, see Daniélou, pp. 443-52; cf. also ODT, p. 80).

27 Bla-ma Btsan-po uses the form Ha-nu-mantha (cf. also *'Dzam-gling*, pp. 59-60), which is usually only found in compounds, such as Hanumanteśvara. This refers to the monkey god, Hanumat (cf. Lévi, I, p. 330), commonly called Hanuman, who was the indefatigable ally of Rāma, in the epic Rāmāyaṇa. The old royal palace of Kathmandu was called Hanuman Dhoka; taking its name from the large image of Hanuman that guards the main gateway (Landon, I, p. 194).

28 The term *dkar-chag* refers to an index to the various sites, temples, and images of religious importance in a given locality, which serves as a guide-book to pilgrims. (For a brief discussion on this and other types of similar books, see Turrell Wylie, "The Tibetan

have heard it personally from those acquainted (with the place) as well.

In the town of Ye-rang (Patan), there are many benedictory symbols, such as a replica of Rdo-rje-gdan[29], an elephant-shaped boulder said to have absorbed Tshogs-bdag (i.e., Gaṇeśa), and a rock said to have been thrown from the peak of Ri 'Bigs-byed by the Teacher (Śākyamuni)[30].

In Kho-khom (Bhatgaon), there is (an image of) Sgrol-ma (known as) "The-one-that-speaks"[31], which is very great in conferring benediction; and there are many temples and symbols, which are known to both Buddhists and non-Buddhists in common as being great in conferring benediction, such as Tsa-ra-ṇa-pa-ta, called Bla-ma Dhata-tri[32] by the Gau-sān[33].

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Tradition of Geography" *Bulletin of Tibetology*, Vol. II - No. 1 (Gangtok, 1965), pp. 17-25). Although Bla-ma Btsan-po refers several times to the *dkar-chag*, he does not specify whether he had access to more than one *dkar-chag* or not. At times, his statements are very similar to those made in *Shing-kung*; however, he presents materials not found in *Shing-kun*, *Bal-gnas*, or the *Bya-rung kha-shor gyi lo-rgyus*; thus, he must have had yet another *dkar-chag* of the Kathmandu valley. On occasion, he refers to statements made by Mnga'-ris Grub-chen about certain things in Nepal, as if he had a *dkar-chag* written by Mnga'-ris Grub-chen. Since none of the three guide-books available to me were written by such an author, it is postulated that Bla-ma Btsan-po relied chiefly on a *dkar-chag* by Mnga'-ris Grub-chen.

29 This replica, known as *Sangs-rgyas stong sku* ("One thousand images of Buddha") in *Shing-kun* (folio 7-1), is called the Mahabuddha temple by Landon and Mahābodhi or Mahābuddha by Lévi (I, p. 194, with a photograph facing). Legend attributes this temple to one Abhaya Raja, who stayed at the Maha Bodhi temple in Bodhgayā (*Rdo-rje-gdan*), and on his return to Nepal, he built a replica of it in Patan (Landon, I, p. 214).

30 The *Ri 'Bigs-byed* refers to the Vindhyā mountain range that runs generally east and west in present day Madhya Pradesh province of India. Although Bla-ma Btsan-po says it was a "rock" (*rdo*) thrown by the Teacher, *Shing-kun* states: "It was a rock-arrow (*rdo mda'*) thrown from the peak of the Vindhyā mountains by the Bhagavat, Śāriputra, and Maudgalyāyana" (*bcom ldan 'das dang shā ri'i bu mo'u 'gal gyi bu rnams kyis ri 'bigs byed kyi rtse nas rdo mda' rgyab pa...* | | folio 6-b). *Bal-gnas* refers to it only as "The Buddha stone-arrow" (*sangs-rgyas mdo-mda'*, folio 5-b).

31 This image, called Bol-ne Tā-ra, reputedly prophesied that Rje-btsun Mi-la-ras-pa be invited as the King of Bhatgaon (*Kho-khom*) (*Bal-gnas*, folio 10-a).

32 This is the temple called Dattatraya by Landon (I, p. 38) and Dattātreya by Lévi, who says it was erected by Yakṣa Malla, who died ca. 1480 (Lévi, II, p. 238) (On Dattātreya, see Daniélou, pp. 280-81).

33 According to Lévi, "Les religieux errants (Gosāins) qui colportaient les marchandises entre l'Hindoustan et le Tibet..." (Lévi, I, p. 174); however, the original sense of gosain, or Goswami, was less mundane, for in the sects that worship Kṛṣṇa, the guru is frequently called Gosain. (Eliot, II, pp. 184-85).



At a place about one league (*rgyang-grags*)[34] to the northwest of the town of Kathmandu is the huge *mchod-rten* (stūpa) known as Sambho-ga, or as 'Phags-pa Shing-kun[35]. Various kinds of fruit trees grow on parts of the hill below the *bum-pa*[36] (of the *mchod-rten*). (Folio 4-b) (Recessed) into the *bum-pa*, which is very high, are images of the five (Buddhas of meditation), with 'Od-dpag-med as the principal one[37]. The spire of thirteen disks reaches more than seventy fathoms (*'dom*)[38].

SHING KUN

This *mchod-rten* is widely known as the *mchod-rten* Go-ma-sa-la-gandha mentioned in the *Glang-ru lung-btsan-gyi mdo*[39] and (also)

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34 *Rgyang-grags*, literally "distance of hearing", is the Tibetan equivalent of Sanskrit *krośa*, or *kos*; which is the Indian league. It varies from one and one-half to three miles.

35 'Phags-pa Shing-kun, literally "The sublime, all-trees", is the Tibetan name for the huge stūpa called Swayambhūnāth, located on top of a low hill about one and one-half miles west of Kathmandu. *Shing-kun* gives the following account of the Tibetan name: "Nāgārjuna cut off his hair and scattered it around, offering up a prayer, saying: 'Let all kinds of trees grow at this sublime stūpa!' and so, all kinds of trees grew densely; thus, it later became known as 'The sublime, all-trees' ('Phags-pa Shing-kun)" (... *klu sgrub kyis dbu skra bcad nas gtor te khyad par 'phags pa'i mchod rten 'di la shing sna kun skye bar shog cig ces smon lam btab pas shing sna kun tshang bar skyes pas phyis 'phags pa shing kun du grags* | folio 4-a). For a description with photographs of Swayambhūnāth, see Landon (I, pp. 197-202), Lévi (I, p. 173; II, p. 3 *et. seq.*), and Snellgrove (pp. 95-98, and plate 13).

36 The *bum-pa* is the hemispheric shaped base of the stūpa. On the architectural design and explanation of a mchod-rten, or stūpa, see Waddell (pp. 261-64) and Snellgrove ("The cult of the stūpa", pp. 37-40).

37 'Od-dpag-med, literally "Measure-less light", is the Buddha Amitābha, who dwells in the western paradise of Bde-ba-can (Sukhāvatī). On the names, identifications, and attributes of the five Buddhas, see Waddell (pp. 349-52) and Snellgrove (p. 64 *et. seq.*). On each of the four cardinal points of the compass, a niche is recessed into the hemispheric base of the stūpa. An image of Akṣobhya occupies the niche on the east, Ratnasambhava on the south, Amitābha on the west, and Amoghasiddhi on the north. A niche, slightly smaller than the others, for Vairocana, the Buddha of the center, is placed just to the side of the niche for Akṣobhya on the east.

38 Bla-ma Btsan-po was obviously misinformed as to the height of the spire of circular disks surmounting the stūpa. He says it was seventy *'dom*, or fathoms, but that would make it 420 feet high; whereas the actual height is about 120 feet. Elsewhere, Bla-ma Btsan-po gives a hyperbolic measurement for the height of Bodhnāth (see footnote 42).

39 *Glang-ru lung-bstan-gyi mdo* is the Gośṛṅga-vyākaraṇa-sūtra, literally: "The sūtra of the prophecy of Ox-horn", which the Buddha reputedly delivered in the country of Li-yul, or Khotan, in Chinese Turkestan. For a discussion on this text, with a translation

as the *mchod-rten* for the remains of the Buddha 'Od-srung[40]. However, it is difficult to believe these stories, because the Go-ma-sa-la-gandha is in Li-yul (= Khotan) and the remains of 'Od-srung are in India; nevertheless, this *mchod-rten* is still truly great in conferring benediction.

To the northeast of the town of Kathmandu is the *mchod-rten* Bya-rung kha-shor, or Bo-dha[41] as it is known throughout India and Nepal. It is said that each side of that *mchod-rten* is a *'dom* (the distance between the finger tips of the outstretched arms) of the deity Tshang-pa (Brahmā); however, I have heard that each side is (only) about one hundred human *'dom* in height[42].

The history of this (*mchod-rten*) is given in a " discovered text " (*gter-chos*) of the Rnying-ma-pa[43]. Formerly, a poultry herdswoman asked a king for land to erect a *mchod-rten*. After the king granted

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of it, see F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*, Part I (London, 1935), pp. 3–38.

40 'Od-srung is the Buddha Kāśyapa, who is number six in the list of the seven successive Buddhas, lived in the period of time immediately preceding that of the Buddha Śākyamuni. (Cf. Waddell, pp. 345–46).

41 This is the stūpa of Bodhnāth located about four miles northeast of Kathmandu on the trade route that goes to Tibet via Sankhu and Nyalam Dzong. For details and photographs of this stūpa, see Snellgrove (pp. 98–100, and plate 14–a), Landon (I, pp. 202–04), and Levi (I, p. 151; II, p. 6 *et. seq.*). This is the " temple of Bouddhama in Kasacheit " of Hamilton (pp. 209, 211).

42 Again Bla-ma Btsan-po must have been misinformed about the height of the Bodhnāth stūpa. He says it is about 100 *'dom*, or fathoms, which would make it some 600 feet high. If Bla-ma Btsan-po had only written descriptions of Bodhnāth available to him, he may have misread *brgya* (one hundred) for *brgyad* (eight), which would be closer to the actual height of the stūpa; however he says " Thus, I have heard " (*ces thos*) and there should have been no confusion between the pronunciation of *brgya* and *brgyad*. In view of his excessive figure for the height of this stūpa and the one at Swayambhūnāth, they should be considered as pious hyperbolisms.

43 A ' discovered text " (*gter chos*) refers to a *gter-ma*, a " treasure ", which is a text purportedly concealed by a great teacher, such as Padmasambhava, and " discovered " later on. See TPS (p. 109 *et. seq.*) and Waddell (pp. 56–58). Rnying-ma-pa, " The Old Ones ", refers to those Tibetan Buddhists who adhere to the teachings of Padmasambhava and are considered unreformed by the other major sects in Tibet (see Helmut Hoffmann, *The Religions of Tibet* (New York, 1961), pp. 50–65). The *gter-ma* referred to by Bla-ma Btsan-po is the *Pad-ma'i bka'-thang* which is reputedly a text " discovered " by O-rgyan Gling-pa in the 14th century. (For a rendering of this text, see Ch. Toussaint, *Le Dict de Padma*, Paris 1933). The account of the founding of Bodhnāth is found in the *Pad-ma'i bka'-thang* on folio 187–a *et. seq.*



the land, the ministers protested; but the king would not listen, and so (the *mchod-rten*) was named Kha-shor (" Indiscreet-mouth "). Before the *mchod-rten* was completed, the mother poultry herdswoman died and the remainder was then erected by her three sons. Because of an auspicious prayer offered by them after it was finished, (the sons) obtained rebirth as the three: *Mkhan*, *Slob*, and *Chos*[44]. Many stories are told, such as how a bullock they possessed was reborn, because of an imprecatory prayer, as Glang-dar[45].

This (*mchod-rten*) is also described as being one of the *mchod-rten* erected at each of the eight different cemeteries (*dur-khrod*) of the eight Ma-mo of the retinue of 'Jigs-byed at the time formerly when 'Jigs-byed Nag-po[46] and his retinue were defeated by 'Khor-lo sdom-pa[47]. Even though it is assumed that the Indians and the Shrisṭha

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44 These three – *mkhan*, *slob*, *chos* – refers to: (1) Mkhan-po Śāntirakṣita, (2) Slob-dpon Padmasambhava, and (3) Chos-rgyal Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan. It is noted that Bla-ma Btsan-po speaks of only three sons in his brief account of the founding of Bodhnāth. This agrees with the number given in the *Deb-ther Sngon-po* (BA, I, pp. 38–39) and the *Padma dkar-po'i Chos-'byung* (folio 99–a), where the three referred to are Śāntirakṣita, Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan, and the minister Sba Khri-gzher, who met Śāntirakṣita in Nepal. However, in the full account of this story, the poultry herdswoman had four sons, who through the power of prayer were reborn as Śāntirakṣita, Padmasambhava, Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan, and Sba Khri-gzher, respectively. (See Toussaint, *Le Dict de Padma*, pp. 238–9). There is a xylograph in forty folios available at Bodhnāth, titled *Mchod-rten chen-po Bya-rung-kha-shor-gyi lo-rgyus thos-pas grol-ba bzhugs-so*. It contains the following subjects: (folios 1–b/9–a) account of the founding of the mchod-rten, (9–a/17–a) the prayers offered and their fulfillment, (17–a/26–a) the benefits obtained from offerings, (26–a/32–b) consequences should the mchod-rten decline, (32–b/38–b) restoration and its benefits, and (38–b/40–a) colophon. A brief summation of the founding of the stūpa based on this xylograph is found in Snellgrove (pp. 98–99).

45 Glang-dar-ma, also known as 'U-dum-btsan, ascended the Tibetan throne ca. 838 following the assassination of his brother, Ral-pa-can. Glang-dar-ma began a persecution of Buddhism which resulted in his being assassinated in 842 by a Buddhist monk named Lha-lung Dpal-gyi rdo-rje. The death of Glang-dar-ma led to schisms in the royal lineage and disintegration of the Tibetan empire.

46 'Jigs-byed Nag-po (Kāla Bhairava), " The black fearful-one ", is an aspect of Śiva (Daniélou, p. 301). For a description of the various Ma-mo deities, see ODT, pp. 269–73. The account and function of the eight " cemeteries " is mentioned briefly in TPS (pp. 542, 615–note 237).

47 'Khor-lo sdom-pa, Cakrasamvara, is a tantric aspect, which became the *yi-dam* of the Bka'-rgyud-pa sect. Tsong-kha-pa (1357–1419), reformer and founder of the Dge-

of Nepal[48] have a basis for giving some accounts different from those related above; still, not far from this *mchod-rten* is a cemetery lake (dur-khrod-kyi mtsho) called Nā-ga-ta-lā-pa[49], on whose shore is a cemetery tree (dur-khrod-kyi shing). At a place very near that *mchod-rten*, there is also a cemetery fire (dur-khrod-kyi me), called Agmā-tha[50], which from former times up to the present has never died out. (Folio 5-a) Also, from time to time, assemblies of Mkha'-'gro-ma (Ḍākinī) have been seen in the vicinity of that *mchod-rten* by most of the people there. In view of these various reasons, it is quite proper to refer to it as a "cemetery" *mchod-rten*.

Many relics (*ring-bsrel*) have been obtained on various auspicious occasions from both this *mchod-rten* and the *mchod-rten* 'Phags-pa Shing-kun (Swayambhūnāth) by visitors possessing faith. Nowadays, there are many (relics around) said to be the remains of the Buddha 'Od-srung and most of them come from there.

It is said in a Dkar-chag ("Guide-book") that at a place about half-a-day's journey north of the town of Kathmandu is the great

lugs-pa sect, also studied the cycle of Cakrasamvara according to the Indian Lui-pa (Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-163).

48 Shrisṭha, commonly spelled Shrestha, is a caste of Newars. According to Hamilton, there are both Buddhists and Śivaites among the Shresthas. He wrote (ca. 1819) that "The highest rank of Shrishtas are called Sira, and are mostly traders. A lower class, called Sual, act as porters; and a still lower, called Bagul, cultivate the ground". (Hamilton, p. 33). It is interesting to note that Bla-ma Btsan-po, who wrote his geography of Nepal about the same time that Hamilton wrote his book, considered the Shresthas to be non-Buddhists, as implied by his statement that they and the Indians have other explanations than the Buddhist do for calling Bodhnāth a "cemetery" stūpa. Lévi, on the other hand, writing ca. 1905, appears to agree with Bla-ma Btsan-po that the Shresthas were non-Buddhist, because he classifies them as being one of the "castes kṣatriyas" (Lévi, I, p. 239).

49 The eight cemeteries are marked by a stūpa, a tree, a serpent, a lake, and a mountain (cf. TPS, p. 542); therefore, Bla-ma Btsan-po mentions the tree (*dur-khrod-kyi shing*), the serpent (nā-ga ta-lā-pa), which is the name of the lake (*dur-khrod-kyi mtsho*), and the stūpa, of course, is Bya-rung kha-shor.

50 Agmā-tha appears to be a mistake for Agnimat, meaning: "having a sacrificial fire". No reference to this fire or its name has been found in the sources used; however, a communication from Dr. Bhuwanlal Joshi, a native of Kathmandu, suggests that this "cemetery fire" (dur-khrod-kyi me) may refer to an eternal fire kept burning at Vajrayogini (*cf.* footnote 61), called the Bskal-pa'i me (*Bal-gnas*, 9-b).



mountain known as Ri-bo 'Bigs-byed[51], on whose top is the actual throne of Rgyal-ba Shākya Thub-pa (Jina Śākyamuni); not far from which is a *mchod-rten* for the remains of the father and mother of Shākya Thub-pa; however (such statements) are difficult to believe. Nevertheless, in such (texts) as the *'Dul-ba Lung* (Vinaya-āgama), it states that on the occasion of being defeated by the army of 'Phags skyes-po (Virūḍhaka), some Shākya, who were kinsmen of Kun-dga'-bo[52], came to Nepal; therefore, it is thought that they erected that (*mchod-rten*) on behalf of the father and mother of Bcom-ldan-'das (Bhagavat, i.e., Śākyamuni).

It is said that there are many marvelous places in that neighborhood, such as a mountain said to be Bya-rgod phung-po'i ri[53], a place where a thousand Buddhas of the auspicious age (bhadrakalpa) are said to have first conceived the thought (to obtain enlightenment), and the place where the mother poultry herdswoman, who founded Bya-rung kha-shor (Bodhnāth), is said to have obtained enlightenment. Even though it is difficult to accept these statements as made by Mnga'-ris Grub-chen[54], these places may still be considered ones that confer benediction.

East of Kathmandu, and between it and the town of Bhatgaon, is a village called De-ba pa-ṭan (Deopatan). There is located a lingam (mtshan-ma), which is known among the twenty-four locations as the

51 The 'Bigs-byed, or Vindhyā mountains, are in India (cf. footnote 30); however, there is the tradition that a mountain north of Kathmandu is called by the same name. Bla-ma Btsan-po places it half-a-day's journey north of Kathmandu and *Shing-kun* puts it northwest of Swayambhūnāth (folio 5-b).

52 Kun-dga'-bo (Ānanda) was a cousin of Śākyamuni. They both had the *gotra* name of Gautama (Eliot, I, p. 133) and were closely related within the broader lineage of the Śākyas.

53 Bya-rgod phung-po'i ri (Gridhrakūṭa), "Vulture Peak", is the name of a mountain near Rājagṛha, made famous because of its association with Śākyamuni. Although Bla-ma Btsan-po, *Shing-kun* (folio 6-a), and *Bal-gnas* (folio 2-a) refer to a mountain of the same name in the Kathmandu valley, none of the western sources used mentions it. The man who carved the printing blocks of the *Bal-gnas* was from the monastery of Bya-rgod phung-po'i-ri (cf. *Bal-gnas* colophon, folio 11-a). *Bal-gnas* states that if one comes from India, one arrives first at the monastery of Bya-rgod phung-po'i ri (2-a) and *Shing-kun* places it southwest of Kathmandu (6-a). (On the Gṛdhrakūṭa in India, see Roerich, pp. 87-89).

54 See footnote 28.

northern spoke of the wheel of the body (and called) Gri–ha–de–ba–da (Gṛhadevatā), (Folio 5–b) or, as it is called by the generally known name Nai–pa–la in the *Kyai Rdo–rje'i rgyud* [55]. It is given as a symbol of veneration of Lha Chen–po (Mahādeva, i.e., Śiva) for the protection of the region of the country of the Newars. (Called) Pa–su–pa–ti–shwa–ra [56], it is known to the Tibetans as Gu–lang.

Near there is a symbol of U–ma [57] called Kurje–shwa–ri [58], and I have heard that there is also a spring there (whose water) tastes and smells like *chang* (Tibetan barley beer).

At a place a little more than one day to the east of Kho–khom (Bhatgaon), there is what is known as the *mchod–rten* for the bones (which remained) when De–bzhin–gshegs–pa Shākya Thub–pa (Tathāgata Śākyamuni) made an offering of his body to a (starving) tigress at a time when he was on the learning path in former times. As for that *mchod–rten*, it is not the one which contains the bones of the one who gave his body to the tigress as actually related in such (texts) as the *Gser–'od dam–pa'i mdo* [59]. However, those who personally achieved

55 *Kyai Rdo–rje'i rgyud* refers to the Śrī–Hevajra–Mahātantrarājā. This text has been edited and published with a translation and notes. See David L. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra, A Critical Study*, 2 Vols., (Oxford University Press, 1959).

56 Pa–su–pa–ti–shwa–ra (Paśupatīśvara) refers to the *lingam* of Śiva preserved in the temple of Paśupatināth, located on the banks of the Bagmati river about two miles northeast of Kathmandu. A general view of Paśupati is given in Lévi (I, p. 210 )and a photo of the temple with the statue of Nandi, the bull (I, p. 359). It is called Pashpati by Landon, who gives a brief description (I, pp. 223–25). Also see Snellgrove, pp. 113–14, and plate 19–b; Kirkpatrick, pp. 188–189.

57 U–ma (Umā) is the active, female consort (śakti) of Śiva. Śiva's śakti is known variously as Parvatī, Kālī, or Durgā (cf. Snellgrove, pp. 81–82). The symbol (*rten*) of Umā is a *yoni*; just as a lingam is the symbol of Śiva.

58 Kurje–shwa–ri is the name of a shrine located about one–quarter of a mile east of Paśupati, across the Bagmati river. It is spelled Guhyeshwari in Landon (I, p. 194) and Guhyeçvari in Lévi, who translates it as " Notre–Dame–du–Secret " (Lévi, I, p. 376 *et. seq.*) Bla–ma Btsan–po says a spring there has water that tastes like Tibetan beer (chang). It is interesting, therefore, to note the Tibetan name for this place: it is *Phag–mo mngal–chu*, literally " Water of the womb of (Vajra) Vārāhī " (cf. *Bal–gnas*, folio 8–b).

59 *Gser–'od–dam–pa'i mdo* is the Suvarṇaprabhāsottama–sūtra. It has been edited by Johannes Nobel. See his *Suvarṇaprabhasottama Sutra, Das Goldglanz Sutra*, Ersfer Band (Leiden, 1944). The story of the Buddha sacrificing his body to feed a starving tigress is told in Nobel, Chapter XVIII, " Stag Moi Leu ", pp. 154–74. The Tibetan name of the mchod–rten is Stag–mo lus–sbyin (" Giving the body to the tigress ") and it is located on



the stage of Buddhahood after embracing the vehicle, which is the basis of enlightenment (*byang–sems*), must have left behind innumerable bodies and limbs during the times (that they) were on the learning path; therefore, the description given by Mnga'–ris Grub–chen may still be acceptable.

As for those narratives about the inconceivable difficult deeds performed by our Teacher (Śākyamuni) during the time that he was on the teaching path in former times, which are related in many sūtras (*mdo–sde*) with only an implicit meaning intended – they have been changed into nothing but " deeds of the god of wishes " by some people [60].

I have heard that, close to the road going to Nepal from Gnya'–nang (in Tibet), there is a village (called) Sam–badzra–dzwa–ki–ni [61], known as Sam–khu–nā–ra–ni to the non–Buddhists, in which there is a statue of Rje–btsun Rdo–rje rnal–'byor–ma [62] that is very great in conferring benediction. Also, there are such things in that vicinity as a grotto of the eighty–four Grub–thob [63] and images.

Namobuddha mountain (*Bal–gnas*, folio 10–b), which is east of Bhatgaon and near the village of Panāvatī (Lévi, I, p. 391; Landon, I, pp. 229–30).

60 Bla–ma Btsan–po says euphemistically that some people, misled by their own desires and confused by ignorance, consider as real events those deeds related solely for didactic purposes.

61 Bla–ma Btsan–po states Sam–badzra–dzwa–ki–ni is the name of a village; but, in fact, it is an image of Vajrayoginī, which is housed in a temple sharing the name. It is called Bajrajogini in Nepal (Lévi, II, p. 49). It is spelled Bajra Gogini in Landon (II, p. 200), where Gogini appears to be a typographical error for Jogini. (For further details on Vajrayoginī, see footnote 62). Sam–khu–nā–ra–ni was not found in the works consulted; but since it is the non–Buddhist name for this image, it may be a corrupt rendering of Samkhu Nārāyaṇī, meaning the " Durgā of Sankhu ". The name is spelled Bhujjur–joogni in Kirkpatrick, p. 189.

62 Vajrayoginī, the most illustrious of the yoginī deities in Nepal, is worshipped by Buddhists and Śivaites alike (Lévi, I, pp. 380, 388). For a description of this female deity, see W. Y. Evans–Wentz, *Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines*, (Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 173–175. A color painting of her is found facing page 155.

63 The place of the eighty–four siddhas is identified as Ma–ṇi–tsū–ṭā–sthan in *Bal–gnas* (folio 9–b), which is Maṇicūḍa, or Manichur; a mountain near Sankhu (Lévi, I, p. 329). On the eighty–four siddhas, see A. Grünwedel, " Die Geschichten der Vierundachtzig Zauberer (Mahāsiddhas) ", *Baessler–Archiv*, Band V, Heft 4/5, (Leipzig, 1916).

Not far from the village of N. ya-ko-ṭa [64], which is near the road that goes to Nepal after passing through Skyid-grong (of Tibet), there is a pilgrimage place in a mountain hermitage called Gau-sān-sthān [65]. There, in a pool like a lake, is an image self-originated from stone in the form of a human. (Folio 6-a) Its light-blue colored (neck) is covered by a saffron scarf and it appears to be lying in the supine position with nine cobra heads. Even though it is well known all over India that Indian heretics consider it to be Dbang-phyug (= Śiva) [66] and revere it greatly, there are many Buddhists in India and Nepal who do not believe in that image. Moreover, among the Tibetans, who call it Klu gan-rkyal (" Supine nāga ") or Klu gdol-pa [67], there are many indeed who do not believe in it at all.

The non-Buddhists tell this story about that (image). " In former times, the gods (lha) and demi-gods (lha-ma-yin), desiring ambrosia, churned the ocean and, in succession, the sun, the moon, Dpal-mo (Kamalā), Rta-mgrin-ring (Hayagrīva), and others came forth. After that, a poisonous creature with nine heads appeared. When they churned (the ocean) further, a full bottle of poison came forth. Fearing injury to the gods if it should fall into the hands of the demi-gods, Dbang-phyug (Śiva) took the bottle of poison and swallowed it. Due

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64 The unusual orthography *n. ya* ཎྱ instead of *na-ya* ན་ཡ་ occurs twice in the writing of the name Na-ya-ko-ṭa without any apparent reason. In both cases they refer to Nayakot, also spelled Nawakot (see note 15).

65 Gosainthan is the name of a high mountain to the northeast of Nayakot (Hamilton, p. 194). There is a lake there known by the name of Gosain Kund, which is the source of the Trisul Gandak river. Below the surface of that lake can be seen a tawny-colored rock, oval in shape, which is identified as Mahadeo, or Śiva (Landon, II, pp. 37-38).

66 The description of the image given by Bla-ma Btsan-po fits the one at Bāla-Nīlakaṇṭha, or Bālajī (for photograph, see Giuseppe Tucci, *Tra Giungle e Pagode*, Rome, 1953, facing page 4); but, it does not describe the image at Gosain Kund, which is oval shaped and of natural origin (Lévi, I, p. 365). Bla-ma Btsan-po says the image is of Dbang-phyug (Īśvara), which is an epithet of Śiva; as is Mahādeva (Eliot, I, p. 48). The image at Gosain Kund is acknowledged as that of Śiva; however, those at Budhā-Nīlakaṇṭha and Bāla-Nīlakaṇṭha are said to be of Viṣṇu. (See footnotes 76 and 77 for additional details).

67 There are various orders of *klu*, or nāgas, and one of them is known as the *klu gdol pa'i rigs* (" the outcast nāga group "). The reason why the Tibetans call this image the " outcast nāga " may be related to the color *blue*. Nīlakaṇṭha means " blue throat " and is an epithet of Śiva, whose throat turned blue when he drank the poison which came from the churned ocean. Blue is also the color of the outcast nāgas (ODT, p. 290).



to the power of the poison, the color of his neck turned blue and his body became inflamed. Unable to endure it, (Śiva) plunged into a cold river in a mass of snow mountains. His reclining figure was then set up at that place by the gods ".

As regards this story, the image is considered to be a natural object of ordinary appearance and (besides) it is actually an image of 'Phags-pa Thugs-rje chen-po [68]. If someone should ask what is the reason for this (last statement); it is because the custom of erecting (images) of Dbang-phyug (Śiva) is not widespread even though there are many heretics who believe in him. Moreover, Thugs-rje chen-po (Avalokiteśvara) possesses many of the characteristics of Phyugs-bdag [69] and Phyug-bdag (= Śiva) himself is said to be an emanation of 'Phags-pa (Avalokiteśvara) in such (texts) as the *Za-ma-thog-bkod-pa'i mdo* [70].

Again, if someone should ask why it is known to non-Buddhists as an image of Dbang-phyug; it is because this image existed in 'Dzam-bu-gling (Jambudvīpa) in former times when the Buddha had not yet appeared in the world and, since no one in the world at that time was known as being greater in power than Dbang-phyug, (the image) became known as such to non-Buddhists. In consideration of all this, that (image) should not be identified as a non-Buddhist god. (Folio 6-b).

Furthermore, there are other (images) like that at Bha-dra-nā-tha [71], located on the border between Tibet and the rocky mountain

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68 'Phags-pa Thugs-rje chen-po (Ārya Mahākāruṇika) is an epithet of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, who is known to the Tibetans as Spyan-ras-gzigs.

69 Phyugs-bdag, literally " lord of cattle " (Paśupati) is another epithet of Śiva (Daniélou, p. 334).

70 This is the Kāraṇḍa-vyūha sūtra, which praises Avalokita as the presiding deity of the universe. A versified edition, called Guṇa-kāraṇḍa-vyūha, gives an account of how Avalokita produced the material world and the gods of Hinduism from his body. Śiva is said to have been produced from Avalokita's forehead (Eliot, II, p. 57). The prose version is said to be the first work translated into the then newly devised Tibetan script by Thon-mi Sambhoṭa. Buddhist tradition in Tibet says this text fell from heaven during the reign of Lha-tho-tho-ri gnyan-btsan (*Padma dkar-po'i chos-'byung*, folio 97-b; *Deb-ther Dmar-po*, Gangtok edition 1961, folio 16-a).

71 Bha-dra-nā-tha is the Badrinath of modern maps located in the Alaknanda river valley northwest of Nanda Devi.

region of Shi-la-na-gar [72], Kai-tār-nā-tha of Wa-ra-nā-si [73], and Ti-la-ka-nā-tha in the region of Mnga'-ris [74]. Near the village called Bal-po rdzong [75], there is one called Pu-ṭa-nī-la-kanṭha [76], which generally resembles those above. There is also one near the *mchod-rten* 'Phags-pa Shing-kun (Swayambhūnāth) called Bha-lak-nī-la-kanṭha [77], which generally resembles the other two.

As for the story of these two (Pu-ṭa-nī-la-kanṭha and Bha-lak-nī-la-kanṭha): " In former times, a king of Nepal, who was quite blinded by sin, went to visit (the image of 'Phags-pa (Avalokiteśvara) at Gau-sān-sthān; but he saw nothing whatsoever. Returning, he asked his

72 Shi-la-na-gar appears to be the village of Srinagar downstream from Badrinath on the Alaknanda river. This village is in the Garhwal area; it is not the Srinagar of Kashmir.

73 Bla-ma Btsan-po was misinformed when he speaks of Kai-tār-nā-tha of Wa-ra-nā-si. The place in question is Kedāranātha, or Kedernath, in Garhwal (Landon, II, p. 174). Kedāranātha is another name for Śiva.

74 Ti-la-ka-nā-tha is the Triloknath in the Chenab river gorge (cf. Snellgrove, p. 191). Mnga'-ris refers to western Tibet in general.

75 Bal-po rdzong is a pure Tibetan name meaning " fort of Nepal ". There is no village in the immediate area with the name Bal-po rdzong and one is tempted to equate Bal-po rdzong with Nayakot, which is also spelled Nawakot; i.e., Bal-po = Naya, or Nawa; and rdzong = kot.

76 Pu-ṭa-nī-la-kanṭha is Budhā-Nīlakaṇṭha, " the old Blue-throat ". It is the Budha Nilkanth of Lévi (II, p. 394) and the Buda-Nilkantha of Landon (I, p. 45). It is also called Barā-Nilkanth, " the great Blue-throat " (Levi, I, p. 68), which is the Bara Nilkantha of Hamilton (p. 194). The village itself is marked as Nilkant on the map at the end of Hamilton. It lies on the route from Nayakot to Skyid-grong, via the Trisul Gangdak river. The name Budhā, or " old ", Nīlakaṇṭha is in contrast to the Bāla, or " new ", Nīlakaṇṭha (see footnote 77). According to Lévi, the name Nīlakaṇṭha was given to the image by the king Haridatta. The name, which refers exclusively to Śiva, was inappropriate for the image since it originally is one of Jala-çayana, or Nārāyaṇa, a form of Viṣṇu.

77 Bha-lak-nī-la-kanṭha is the Bāla Nīlakaṇṭha, the " new Blue-throat ". In the 17th century, the king Pratāpa Malla had a replica of the image at Budhā-Nīlakaṇṭha made at a locale about one and one-half miles north of Swayambhūnāth. This one is commonly known as Balaju, or Balaji (cf. Landon, I, pp. 227-28; Levi, I, p. 368). It is smaller in size than the one at Nilkanth (= Budhā-Nīlakaṇṭha) and is called the " new " to distinguish it from the original image. Bla-ma Btsan-po refers to all three images – one each at Gosain Kund, Nilkanth, and Balaju – as being Dbang-phyug (Īśvara); i.e., Śiva. Of course, Nīlakaṇṭha (" Blue Throat ") is an epithet reserved for Śiva; however, the images at Budha-Nilakanth and Bala-Nilakanth are of the Śeṣa-Nārāyaṇa aspect of Viṣṇu (Lévi, I, pp. 366-68). This is the identification given as well in *Bal-gnas*, which reads; *klu gan rkyal* | *nā rā yan sthan* | *bu rā nil kan ta* | (folio 4-b).



ministers the reason why and he heard the ministers relate the story of that image. Even though he went there several times, he still did not see it; so the king commanded his ministers, saying: ' Summon artisans and order them to reproduce in some other location an image similar to the one at Gau-sān-sthān! ' The ministers then had the image (Pu-ṭa-nī-la-kanṭha) erected at a place near N. ya-ko-ṭa. When the king went to visit this one several times, he still saw nothing whatsoever; so (the image) Bha-lak-nī-la-kanṭha was erected very close to Kathmandu. When the king went to visit this one, he saw the image for the very first time ". Thus have I personally heard from some itinerant monks [78].

These three (images) are called by such (names) as Klu gan-rkyal (" Supine Nāga ") and Klu gdol-pa (" Outcast Nāga ") by the Tibetans, who give various reasons for these. The name of that image is called Nī-la-kanṭha by the Indians; but this is not easy for the Nepalese tongue and it is corrupted and pronounced something like Li-la-kan-cha. Due to the fact that the Tibetans understood Li-la as *Klu* and kan-cha as *gan-rkyal*, they had no other recourse than to speak of it like that.

I have heard it said that between the two *mchod-rten* (Swayambhūnāth and Bodhnāth) and in their neighborhoods there are images of many deities who have already passed from the world and of those who have yet to pass, such as the Teacher Shākya Thub-pa (Śākyamuni), 'Phags-pa Lo-ki-shwa-ra (Ārya Lokeśvara), Rje-btsun Sgrol-ma (Tārā), Mgon-po-gur (see footnote 24), Rgyal-chen rnam-sras (Vaiśravaṇa), Lha-chen Dbang-phyug (Maheśvara), Tshogs-kyi bdag-po (Gaṇapati), (Folio 7-a) and the Rgyal-po sku-lnga [79].

78 The story given by Bla-ma Btsan-po regarding the reason why the king of Nepal cannot visit the image at Gosain Kund and Budhā-Nīlakaṇṭha differs from the traditional account, which says that after Pratāpa Malla had the image at Balaju made, " Le Vieux Nīlakaṇṭha lui apparut alors en songe et l'avertit que si jamais un roi du Népal venait le visiter, ce roi mourrait fatalement d'une mort prompte. Depuis lors, c'est le Nouveau Nīlakaṇṭha, Bālajī, qui reçoit aux jours prescrits la visite des rois (Lévi, I, p. 368). (Cf. also Landon, I, pp. 45, 227).

79 Rgyal-po sku-lnga, " The five bodies, kings ", refers to Pe-har and his chief attendants. They are: Brgya-byin in the center, Mon-bu pu-tra in the east, Shing-bya-can

At a place near Na-ya-ko-ṭa, there is an image of Bcom-ldan-'das Mkha'-lding dbang-po, called Ga-ru-ḍa Na-rā-nā [80], which is great in conferring benediction. It is said that turbid water exudes from this (image) from time to time and if a piece of rag is used to wipe it up and then tied about the neck, all of the nāga-diseases (*klu-nad*) [81] can be overcome.

In the neighborhood is a spring in which burns a glimmering flame just like a lamp. Some people say it is a sign of the Khyung (Garuḍa) and some say it is Dbang-phyug (Śiva). There are no details about this other than the statement by Thang-zing that fire flames up from whatever object is thrown into that water [82].

In a village called Rdō-lā-kha [83], which is east of Bhatgaon and close to the road that goes to Nepal after passing through Gnya'-nang (in Tibet), there is an image known as Rgyal-chen 'jigs-sde, or as Mon-pu-pu-tra [84]. There is also a *lha-pa* [85] there in whom that god resides.

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in the south, Dgra-lha skyes-gcig-bu in the west, and Pe-har in the north. (A lengthy discussion and description of the five " kings " is found in ODT, p. 107 *et. seq.*).

80 Bla-ma Btsan-po gives the Tibetan equivalent of this image thus: Bcom-ldan-'das (Bhagavat) for Na-rā-nā (Nārāyaṇa), an epithet of Viṣṇu; and Mkha'-lding dbang-po (" One with the power to soar in the sky ", or the eagle) for Ga-ru-da (Garuḍa), the eagle, which serves as a mount to Viṣṇu (Lévi, I, pp. 366–67). (Also see Daniélou, pp. 245–47).

81 Chief among the diseases caused by the nāgas is leprosy. They are also credited with causing abscesses, consumption, ulcers, itch, sores and the swelling of limbs (ODT, p. 291).

82 Thang-zing refers to Hsüan-tsang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim who traveled to India in the 7th century. An account of his travels was compiled under the title of *Hsi yü chi* (" Record of the Western Countries "). (A résumé of this work was written in Tibetan by Mgon-po skyabs, author of the *Rgya-nag chos-'byung*, under the title *Chen-po Thang-gur dus-kyi rgya-gar zhing-gi bkod-pa'i dkar-chag*). In the section on Nepal (Chinese: Ni-po-lo) it says: " Southeast of the capital city, there is a small pond. If one touches fire to it, the water gives forth flame. Moreover, whatever objects are thrown into it, they also change and become afire " (*Daitō saiiki ki no kenkyū*, Vol. I, Tokyo/Kyoto, 1942, p. 572). (Also see Lévi, I, p. 155). The Chinese name for the locale of this pond is given by Wang Hsüan-ts'e as A-ki-po-li (Lévi, I, p. 158), for Ankhe Pokhri, which Landon identifies with Ankhe Daha near Harisiddhi on the road to Godavari (Landon, I, pp. 228–29).

83 Rdō-lā-kha is Dolakhā, also spelled Dolkha, outside the valley about 24 miles east of Kathmandu.

84 Mon-pu-pu-tra is the " king of the body " among the " five kings " (see footnote 79) and he occupies the eastern quarter (ODT, p. 109).

85 Lha-pa, literally " god-one ", is a term applied to a medium, who becomes possessed by a god (*lha*) and thus becomes an oracle. This and other related matters are discussed in some detail in the chapter on Tibetan oracles in ODT (p. 409 *et. seq.*).



There are many images of that god throughout Nepal and the one located at this place is known as being very terrifying (in appearance).

On the border between Nepal and Gnya'-nang (in Tibet) is the hermitage of Rje-btsun Mi-la [86], and at a place near that are found prints of his own hands and feet.

At a place near the village of Tsam-khu [87] is the hermitage of Pha-dam-pa [88], where prints of his own body, hands, and feet are found.

Southwest of the village of Patan and not far from Sthān-ko-ṭa (Thankot), there is a very terrifying image of Ma-gcig 'Dod-khams bdag-mo, called Dakṣi-na kā-li [89]. Also there is the hermitage of the great teacher Padma-kā-ra, which is called Yang-le-shod, and two lakes, where dwell the white and black Nāgas (klu dkar nag) [90]. There are many other marvelous places and symbols there. All this is stated in the *Dkar-chag* (" Guide Book ") and I have also heard it in the words of those who have visited there.

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86 Rje-btsun Mi-la-ras-pa (1040–1123), the beloved hermit-poet and *guru* of the later Bka'-rgyud-pa sect, was born in the general region of Gnya'-nang. For the story of his life according to his biography, see Evans-Wentz, *Tibet's Great Yogi Milarepa* (Oxford University Press, 1951). The hermitage referred to in the text may be the " Stomach-cave " (*Grod-phug*), one of Mi-la-ras-pa's favorite retreats.

87 The spelling Tsam-khu indicates an original Nepalese name beginning with the consonant *c*; thus, the name should be Cam-khu. It may well be the Caṅgu temple north of Bhatgaon, which is famous for its image of Caṅgu Nārāyaṇa (Lévi, I, 366 *et. seq.*) or also Changoo-nerain (Kirkpatrick, p. 189); however, lacking any additional details from Bla-ma Btsan-po about Tsam-khu, its identification with Caṅgu should remain tentative.

88 Pha-dam-pa was the Indian *guru* who introduced the Zhi-byed teachings into Tibet in the 11th century. He died at Ding-ri in 1117. For an account of his life, teachings, and disciples, see BA (p. 867 *et seq.*).

89 Dakṣiṇa-Kālī, the Kālī of the South, is the patroness of the village of Pharping (Landon, II, pp. 4–5). She is one of the four major forms of Kālī in Nepal (Lévi, I, p. 379).

90 Bla-ma Btsan-po associates the teacher Padma-kā-ra with Yang-le-shod; however, *Bal-gnas* says: " Yang-le-shod (or) Seg Nā-rā-yan-sthan, is the great place on the Pharping road where the Second Buddha, Mahāguru (= Padmasambhava) subdued gods and demons " (*yang le shod* | *seg nā rā yan sthan* | *phar ping gi lam na* | *sangs rgyas gnyis pa mahā gu ru lha srin ma bdud btul ba'i gnas chen* | folios 7-a & 7-b). The *Seg Nā-rā-yan-sthan* of *Bal-gnas* refers to the temple of Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa in Pharping, which is called *Sikh Narayan* by the people there (Lévi, II, p. 400).

Southward from there are the very high mountains called Tsandra-ki-ri [91]. Ascending those, one comes to the large, ruined village called Tsi-ti-lam [92]. Heretics (mu-stegs-pa) say that this was the place where (the following story took place): " In former times, shortly after the decline of the Bskal-pa rdzogs-ldan (period) [93], (Folio 7-b) the demi-god (lha-ma-yin) called He-ma-pa-ti, or Ri-dbang, was a king in that village. When making invocations and offerings to many gods, he did not invoke Dbang-phyug chen-po (Maheśvara; i.e., Śiva). Ri-dbang had a daughter named Ri-skyes-ma, who said to Ri-dbang many times, ' Father, among the gods, the one called Lha drag-po (" The Fierce God ") is very great in power; therefore, it is inauspicious if you do not invoke him '. She told (her father) many things, such as how she herself would become the spouse of that god. Demi-god Ri-dbang did not like Lha drag-po; but, because he could not make his daughter change her mind, he appointed a messenger and sent him to invoke and make offering to Dbang-phyug. However, the latter (Śiva) knew that it was an unwilling invocation, so he transformed himself into an old brāhman with a very ugly body. He smeared his naked body with the ashes of human bones and loosed his hair. Holding in his hands a three-pointed trident (kha-ṭam) marked with three things: a human skull, a small drum, and an old dried human head; and a rosary of human heads threaded on human entrails, he mounted a bullock. Assuming the appearance of a madman, he came; (but) Ri-dbang was extremely displeased and said: ' You took too long to come! ' (Ri-dbang) then assigned him to the last rank of the gods. Lha drag-po became furious. Without saying a word, he flashed his third eye, which bulged with jealousy. When he looked with his evil eye, the offering

91 These are the Chandragiri mountains which form the south boundary of the Kathmandu valley. The main peak just southeast of Chisapani Garhi is 8297 feet in elevation. For an account of the name of these mountains, see Hamilton (p. 204).

92 Tsi-ti-lam is the Chitlong of modern maps. Bla-ma Btsan-po must have been misinformed when he wrote that it was a village in ruins (*grong-khyer gog-po*). Neither Lévi (II, pp. 314–15) nor Hamilton (p. 204), who visited there personally, mentioned any " ruins ". In fact, Hamilton commented that it was " well built " (*loc. cit.*).

93 Bskal-pa rdzogs-ldan is the first of the four Buddhist ages. It is characterized as " Having perfection " (*rdzogs-ldan*): in Sanskrit, Satyayuga.



temple, together with the remains of the offerings and many of Ri-dbang's retinue, were destroyed by fire. Ri-dbang himself began to burn. Frightened, he offered his daughter Ri-skyes-ma to Lha drag-po and beseeched him to put out the fire. Lha drag-po was then satisfied and extinguished the fire. Then, leading the goddess (lha-mo) Ri-skyes, he went away ".

Regardless of whether this story is true or not, I have heard it said that even nowadays a serious epidemic fever called *'au-la* [94] breaks out repeatedly among the people of that area.

If one goes about a day's journey southward from that old village, after crossing a narrow ledge-path called E-ka-damṣḍa [95], one arrives at some small communities called Tā-ma-khān [96]. (Folio 8-a) If one then goes a little to the south of there, one arrives at the great mountain called Bhi-ma-phe-ta in the language of India and called Ci-sa-pa-ni by the Nepalese [97]. Although it is not very high (compared with other mountains ) in Nepal, it is very high for India. A Nepalese guard is stationed on the top of that mountain, and up to there (the land) belongs to Nepal [98].

94 Commonly pronounced *aul*, *'au-la* is the name of a strong form of malaria. It is rendered as *olla* in Lévi (I, pp. 121, 128).

95 E-ka-damsḍa is the Ekdunta of Kirkpatrick (p. 61), who described the path as being no wider than two feet and leading along the east face of Ekdunta hill, with a precipice of a hundred feet down to the Markhoo-Kola river (Kirkpatrick, pp. 63–64).

96 Tā-ma-khān is the Tamra Khani of Landon (p. 203), the Tamba Khani of Landon (I, pp. 176–77), and the Tāmbā Khānī of Lévi (II, p. 244). It is well-known as being the location of considerable deposits of copper. According to Kirkpatrick (p. 62), Tambeh-kan is also called Kowli-kan.

97 Bhi-ma-phe-ta is the village called Bhimphedi on modern maps. For descriptions, see Landon (I, pp. 177–78), Lévi (II, pp. 312–12), and Hamilton (pp. 199–200). Cisapani, the name of the mountains and the pass, is said to derive from a spring near the pass, which gives *cold water*, i.e., " chisapani " (Hamilton, p. 201). Levi, who spells it Sisapani, says the pass of Sisagarhi was 6500 feet in elevation (Lévi, II, 314).

98 Bla-ma Btsan-po refers to the fort of Cisapani, also spelled Chisapani, which is marked Chisapani Garhi on modern maps. For details on the fort, see Hamilton (pp. 201–2), Lévi (II, p. 313) and Kirkpatrick (pp. 53 ff.). Bla-ma Btsan-po states that the fort of Chisapani marked the southern limit of Nepalese territory; however, the boundary was about forty air miles farther south. The distance by foot from the East India Company's boundary near the Bera river to Chisapani, via Bichhakor and Hethaura, was about sixty miles (Hamilton, pp. 195–201).

There are many groups of people among those of Nepal besides the true Newars (Bal–po), such as those who are of Indian and Tibetan lineage and those who belong to Klo–pa [99] and Mon–pa [100] groups. Among those people, the Newars are Buddhists (nang–pa) in general and Mahāyānists (theg–pa chen–po) in particular. Many among the latter are devoted to *Rnal–'byor bla–med* [101]. Furthermore, most of the people of such groups (rigs) as the Go–bāl [102], Banṭa [103], U–tā si [104], and Dza–ya–si [105], have adopted the Ḍākinī–tantras (*Mkha'–'gro–ma'i rgyud*) with Rje–btsun Rdo–rje rnal–'byor–ma as the main one [106]. Consequently, many yogis have appeared there in former times who achieved realization, such as Pham–mthing–pa and his brother [107], and Bal–po Padma–badzra [108]. Even nowadays, it is assumed that there

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99 In the Tibet section of his geography, Bla–ma Btsan–po says that the Abor hills region of northeastern Assam is the land of the Klo–pa (*'Dzam–gling*, p. 98).

100 Mon–pa, as used here by Bla–ma Btsan–po, is a generic term for Indo–Mongoloid ethnic groups as distinguished from the Bhotias (Tibetans) and the Indo–Aryans. In the Tibet section, the area of northern Assam just east of Bhutan is designated as the land of the Mon–pa (*'Dzam–gling*, p. 119).

101 Rnal–'byor bla–med (Anuttarayoga) is the highest of the four classes of yoga. It involves the teachings of " psycho–physical reintegration of personality through sexual symbolism " (Snellgrove, p. 202 *et.seq.*).

102 Go–bāl is the Gubal (also spelled Gubhar–ju, Gubāhāl, and Guru–bhāju,) the highest of the Buddhist class called the Bandyas (Banras), or bonzes (Lévi, I, p. 240).

103 Banṭa refers to the Bandyas (cf. preceding footnote).

104 U–tā–si is the Udas caste, which is divided into seven sections. The Uda, the highest of the seven sections, were merchants who controlled trade with Tibet and Bhutan (Lévi, I, p. 241).

105 Dza–ya–si appears to refer to the Jaisi, or Josi, whom Lévi lists as one of the vaiśya castes (Lévi, I, p. 239).

106 The Ḍākinī–tantra refers to those based upon sets of yoginīs. These tantras, reputedly revealed by the ḍākinīs, relate to the sexual symbolism employed in the anuttarayoga tantras (cf. Snellgrove, pp. 203–4). On Rdo–rje rnal–'byor–ma (Vajrayoginī) see footnotes 61 and 62.

107 Pham–mthing–pa, a Nepalese also called A–nges–pa chen–po, had three brothers: Dharmamati, Dus–'khor–pa, and Thang–chung–pa. Pham–mthing–pa's remains are said to be preserved at Lo–chia–t'un near Lan–chou in Kan–su (BA, pp. 227, 380 *et. seq.*). According to *Bal–gnas*, the Pham–thing Rdo–rje rnal–'byor–ma is the same as the Phar–ping Vajrayoginī and it is similar to a symbol of the tutelary deity of the siddha Pham–thing–pa (folio 7–b).

108 Bal–po Padma–badzra may be the Padmavajra listed as one of the lineage of the Guhyasamāja–tantra (BA, pp. 362–63), the tantra in which Pham–mthing–pa was particularly learned (BA, p. 227).



are one or two who practice the secret teachings and who have achieved realization.

The Gorṣa [109], and others of Indian lineage, are nothing but non–Buddhists who accept such great deities as Dbang–phyug (Śiva) as their refuge.

Also, in that country there are those known as Dzo–ki (= Yogi), who accept the Tantras (*gsang–sngags*) according to their sounds (i.e., they take them literally). They adorn their bodies with the five signs (*phyag–rgya lnga*) [110] and they carry a drum, a skull, and a trident (kha–ṭam–ga) in their hands. These belong to an heretical group. Thus have I heard.

Even though there are heretics, such as the Kun–tu–rgyu [111] and Tshangs–spyod–pa [112], and Gorṣa (Gurkhas); as well as many who have accepted initiation, such as the two communities of yogins – Buddhist and non–Buddhist – still, except for one or two people who are of that country itself, it is said that most of them are ones who came from India.

The Mon–pa, such as the Ghu–rin [113], and most of those related to Tibetans by lineage, such as the Thag–pa [114], who belong to that

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109 Gorṣa refers to the Gorkhas, or Gurkhas, whose name derives from that of their village, Gorkha, some sixty miles west–northwest of Kathmandu. Under the leadership of their ruler Prithvi Narayan, the Gurkhas conquered the Kathmandu valley in 1769. For a brief summary of that conquest, see Landon (I, pp. 50–67) or Tucci, *Tra Giungle e Pagode* (pp. 11–12). Bla–ma Btsan–po states the Gurkhas are of Indian lineage, which they are (see footnote 22), since they trace their ancestry to the Rajputs of Chitor.

110 The five signs (phyag–rgya = mudrā) are a crown, ear–rings, necklace, bracelets, and a girdle (Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra*, I, pp. 11, 58). These five are symbols of Akṣobhya, Amitābha, Ratneśa, Vairocana, and Amogha, respectively, in the *Hevajra* (cf. Snellgrove, *op. cit.*, p. 64).

111 Kun–tu–rgyu (āgāmuka), literally " going everywhere ", refers to itinerant monks, who have no fixed residence, but wander ad libitum.

112 Tshangs–spyod–pa, literally means " one who behaves in a pure manner "; thus a holy man.

113 The Ghu–rin are the Gurungs, one of the Mon–pa, or Indo–Mongoloid groups, in Nepal. According to Landon, the Gurungs are divided into four major classes: Ghali, Gotani, Lama, and Lamachine (Landon, II, pp. 242–44).

114 Thag–pa refers to the Thakalis, who live in the Muktinath district of western Nepal. Their language is a related Tibetan dialect (Tucci, *Tra Giungle e Pagode*, pp. 59, 66–67).

country (of Nepal) itself, are inclined to Bon[115] (Folio 8–b) and to those Tantras translated in the early (period)[116]. There are some, however, who follow the doctrines of the Bka'[117], Dge[118], and other (sects).

Also, there is a Mon–pa group called Mā–kra[119] and a Kla–klo group called Kha–si[120] in that country, who are neither Buddhists nor non–Buddhists (i.e., Hindus). They are just like the Kha–khra Klo–pa[121].

Due to the influence of the country and associations (where Buddhism and Hinduism exist side by side), it is assumed that there are one or two there who believe in both Buddhist and non–Buddhist (teachings).

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115 Bon is the Tibetan name for the pre–Buddhist shamanistic religion in Tibet. It is characterized by the worship of spirits of the sky, the earth, and the underworld, many of which have been adopted into the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon (see Helmut Hoffmann, *The Religions of Tibet*, New York 1961, pp. 13–27 and 84–110).

116 The early period refers to those tantras which were translated into Tibetan prior to the persecution of Buddhism in the 9th century. Many of these tantras, although practiced by the Rnying–ma–pa, are rejected as unorthodox by the other sects in Tibet.

117 This refers to the Bka'–rgyud–pa sect, founded formally by Dwags–lha Sgam–po–pa (1079–1153), which perpetuates the teachings of Ti–lo–pa and Na–ro–pa, as brought to Tibet by Mar–pa of Lho–brag (1012–1097). (For details on the development of the Bka'–rgyud–pa, see Hoffmann, *The Religions of Tibet*, pp. 140–57).

118 Dge refers to the Dge–lugs–pa sect, commonly referred to as the Yellow Hat sect. It was founded by the great reformer Tsong–kha–pa (1357–1419) and eventually rose to political supremacy under the rule of the Dalai Lamas. (See Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 160–82).

119 Mā–kra refers to the Magars, who like the Gurungs, are called Mon–pa by Bla–ma Btsan–po. Landon says the Magars are divided into six chief tribes: Ale, Pun, Rana, Burathoki, Gharti, and Thapa (Landon, II, pp. 243–44). Lévi says the Magars entered into Nepalese history in the 14th century and that their origin is clearly Tibetan (Lévi, I, pp. 276–78).

120 Kha–si refers to the Khas, a group which claims descent from Indian people. Their language Khaskura is related to Hindi (Landon, II, pp. 241–42). For details on their origin and role in Nepalese history, see Lévi (I, pp. 26–67, 276 *et. seq.*) Bla–ma Btsan–po classifies the Khas as a Kla–klo group. Kla–klo (Sanskrit: mleccha or yavana) i.e., " one of indistinct speech ". Elsewhere in his geography, the lama uses the term *kla–klo* when referring to Moslems (cf. *'Dzam–gling*, pp. 67, 125 – footnote 93). Since the Khas were said to be Hindus, it appears Bla–ma Btsan–po was misinformed as to their religious or ethnic origins.

121 The Kha–khra Klo–pa are mentioned by the Bla–ma Btsan–po as living in the general region of the holy mountain Rtsa–ri (*'Dzam–gling*, pp. 95, 178 – footnote 583). Bla–ma Btsan–po implies that they are devoid of any religious teachings whatsoever.

## APPENDIX A

## BAL YUL GNAS YIG BZHUGS SO

(Folio 1–a shows a drawing of a monastery with the following identification remarks: *Bal yul bya rgod phung po ri'i dgon pa'i dpe* | in Tibetan and: *Kiṇḍo vihāra* | *Nepāla* in Devanāgari script.)

(Folio 1–b) | | E ma ho: phyogs dus rgyal ba'i thugs rten rin po che | | 'phags pa shing kun mchod rten lus sbyin zhabs | | snying khong rus pa'i gting nas gsol ba 'debs | | rten mchog gsum dang bdag la 'brel kun 'gro | | 'gal rkyen mi mthun bar chad kun zhi zhing | | bsam don ma lus chos bzhin 'grub pa dang | | mthar thug rang gzhan 'khor ba'i (2–a) mtsho brgal te | | sku bzhi'i go 'phang thob par byin gyis rlobs | | bal yul du gnas gzigs phebs mkhan mchog dman kun la zhu rgyu | rgya gar rgyud phebs na | dang po bya rgod phung po ri'i dgon du slebs dgon pa de'i rten gtso thub dbang dang | de'i thog kha spyan ras gzigs smyung gnas lha khang | de'i byang phyogs su byams pa'i lha khang | de'i nye phyogs su (2–b) sangs rgyas mya ngan 'das tshul sku tshab sogs mjal rgyu yod | skyim grol rbal | 'phags pa shing kun la | swa yam bu | sangs rgyas rnam par gzigs kyis byin gyis brlabs pa'i rin chen padma'i steng du 'og min nas rgyal ba rdo rje 'chang rang byung du byon pa'i mchod sdong chen po mthong thos dran reg grol ba'i dzanyā na gandho la swa yam bhu | gnas chen gzhan las 'dir dge ba'i 'gyur khyad dung gyur bcu gsum 'byung sogs zhib rgyas bal yul chags rab swa yam bhu pur ṇa la (3–a) gzigs | 'od zer go cha | shānti pu ri | shing kun nang khongs 'gro lam nang du lha khang brgya rtsa yod der 'jam dbyangs sprul pa'i chos rgyal 'od zer go cha sprul pa'i slob dpon 'chi med sku brnyes shanti ka ra dang mjal klu chen brgyad kyi srog snying blangs

pa'i dkyil 'khor bzhugs | gzhan yang lha chen tshogs bdag gi pho brang yang yod | 'jam dbyangs bzhugs khri | sa ra swa sti sthan | dang po bal yul (3–b) mtsho ru yod skabs 'phags pa 'jam dpal yum gsum mi gzigs su byon nas chu rnams snga phyi gsum du btsags rjes bzhugs pa'i khri dang dgongs pa rgya nag ri bo rtse lngar gshegs pa'i dgung gsum gzungs su bzhugs pa'i mchod rten byin che'o | mgo shing pra bhaṭ ko tsirbal dang po sangs rgyas rab bdun gyi bzhugs khri deng sang mchod rten bzhengs yod | de'i mdun du dgon pa gsar bzhengs rten gtso thub dbang sku sogs mjal rgyu yod | ri glang ru lung (4–a) bstan | nā gardzu na | ri rtser sangs rgyas bzhugs khrir deng sang mchod rten bzhengs yod klu sgrub kyi gzims phug bzhugs gnas yin pas mtshan ri la thogs so | rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas 'od srung gi gdung rten | sa ra swa sti sthan nas mda' rgyang gang gi sar bzhugs | sa spyod du 'gro ba'i gsang sgo zhig dang | klu rdo rang byung sogs slob dpon dbyig gnyen skyes chen 'ga'i gdung rten sogs bzhugs | rdo rje rnal 'byor ma | bi dze shwa ri sthan | mkha' spyod (4–b) nas rang byung du byon pa'i rnal 'byor ma bzhi bzhugs pa'i gras shing kun nas dma' rtsam chu bo'i 'gram du yod | dur khrod rā ma do li | kar bir ma mān | bhag wa ti dang biṣhnu wa ti chu bo gnyis dbar bcom ldan 'das ma'i lha khang bcas shin tu bka' nyan dang | ma hā mā ya'i rdo sku rang byon yang bzhugs | klu gan rkyal | nā rā yan sthan | bu rā nil kan ta | ri glang ru'i 'gram du yod pa de phyis su bzos | pāg du wār 'gro lam du yod pa de rang byon yin par grags | (5–a) khyab 'jug bisnu rā dza'i sku yin 'dug | sher phyin 'bum | ṭha mel bhal na yod | lha khang 'dir 'phags pa klu sgrub kyis klu yul nas gdan drangs pa'i chos pu ti gser bris ma bzhugs | sa lhag rdo lhag mchod rten | ka ṭi shim bu | 'phags pa shing kun gyi sa lhag rdo lhag la bzhengs zer ba'ang 'dug | rgya gar nas grub thob gcig gi mthus rang byon du phebs pa'ang zer | shā ri bu'i dbu skra gzungs su bzhugs par grags | nor bum | la cha mi ka las | (5–b) a san ṭol khrom dkyil rdo la rang byon bum pa dngul gyis bstums pa lha khang rgya phebs can nye 'dabs su tshogs bdag lha khang bcas | jo bo 'dzam gling dkar mo | dzan bhāl | spyan ras gzigs sku 'di zhing las 'khrungs shing gsung byon byin rlabs can ma chin dha ra nā tha yang zhu | sgrol dkar | she to tā ra | i ṭo ma bhal du bzhugs | bod nas phur byon pa yin zhes gsung byon ma yin no | sangs rgyas rdo mda' | rma khan ṭol ko sa



trag ko dhung ga | mgon po phyag drug (6–a) pa | kā la bhai ra ba | ha nu mān ḍo ka'i mdun | de'i sku rgyab rdo ring thad rgyal khab rtsig pa'i shing dmar drwa mig nang du rgyal dbang karma pa'i phyag bzos mgon po'i zhal 'bag chen po yod | dril chen | ṭhu lo ghan ṭi rgna chen bcas | mkha' 'gro ma'i pho brang | ku ma ri bhāl | rgyal khang lhor gzhon nu ma mkha' 'gro mngon sum bzhugs pas phyag mchod phul la gsung brtag zhu rgyu yong | mahā gu ru sangs rgyas gnyis pa'i bzhugs khri | ma ru sa ṭal (6–b) ko a san | lha khang 'di shing sdong gcig la grub pa yin 'dug | 'di nang sran ma'i sdong po'i ka ba ngo mtshar can dang gu ru gor ṣha nā tha'i 'dra sku tshogs bdag bzhi sogs yod | bod thang mgon po | mahā kā la | ṭong ṭi khel na rdo sku rang byon khyad 'phags bzhugs | sangs rgyas 'khor ba 'jig gi gnas | bāg du wār | sangs rgyas kyi phyag mdzug gis brag nas chu bton mdzad pa'i gnas bha ga 'dra bas ming der thogs | ye rang shākya thub pa | shākya mu ni buddha | ko (7–a) bhāl na lha khang ngo mtshar can | ye rang sangs rgyas stong sku | mahā buddha | rdo dang rdza las grub pa'i mchod rten blta na sdug pa bzhugs | ye rang a khang u khang | mi`na nā tha | ma chin dha ra nā tha | gar gyi dbang phyug rang byung sprul pa'i lo rgyus ha las pa bzhugs | mtsho ral gri ṭa'u ḍa | bal yul gyi chu bshar lhag mtsho ru bzhag pa | 'di nas pāl rgyal zhig klu yul du byon | yang le shod | seg nā rā yan sthan | phar ping gi lam na | sangs rgyas gnyis pa mahā gu ru (7–b) lha srin ma bdud btul ba'i gnas chen | pham thing rdo rje rnal 'byor ma | phar ping badzra jo gi ni | ye shes dngos bzhugs gsungs byon ma | grub thob pham thing pa sogs kyi thugs dam rten 'dra | a su ra yi brag phug | gor ṣha nā tha gu phā | yang le shod kyi sgrub phug gong ma ru | bar chad bgegs rnams rdo rje phur bas bsgral | phyag rgya chen po'i dngos grub gnas der thob | gsungs pa'i mchog gi byin rlabs can gyi gnas so | lha mo nag mo | dha khi na kā li | 'jigs (8–a) rung dur khrod 'di phar ping nas thag nye'i sar yod | gcod mkhan chos nges par ru mjal | dang po chu bshar ba'i gnas | ka ṭo wa | phar ping nas lho phyogs su song na 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyis chu bshar mdzad gnas yod | mchod rten bya rung kha shor | ba hu da | sngon ma bya rdzi mo bu bzhis bya gla bsags te bzhengs | rab tu gnas skabs sangs rgyas dung phyur thim ring bsrel gtams pa'i byin ldan ci smon 'grub

cing yi dam du bsgom na 'chi dus bde can skye | (8–b) dur khrod chen po brgyad las lhun grub brtsegs pa sogs yod | sa lhag rdo lhag gi mchod rten | tsā bhel ko tsa yi te | bya rung kha shor gyi sa lhag rdo lhag rab gnas byin che | phag mo mngal chu | gu hya shwa ri | rdo rje phag mo'i mngal las me tog 'khrungs pa nyal ba'i ze'u 'bru'i steng rang byung ye shes kyi mchod rten swa yambhu ste | shing sna kun gyis mdzes pa'i rtsa ba 'di lags pas yam bu chags pa'i lte ba'o | de'i 'gram du chu chen bzhi'i gras bāg ma ti zhes sdig sgrib dag byed rgyun bzang babs | lha chen (9–a) dbang phyug gi gnas | pa su pa ti sthan | gu lang zhes lha yul nas lha chen byon te gnas btab cing | rdo la glang rang byung byon pa sogs dngos bzhugs yin | de'i 'gram du dmyal ba'i lam sogs yod | te lo pa'i phug pa | ār rje gha ṭa ga ne sha sthan | gnas 'dir lan gsum pa chu bshar ba mdzad | phyis te lo na ro'i phug par grags | lan gnyis pa co war | mtsho ral gri'i lam du yod | bzhi pa go kar na | yol mor 'gro lam mchod rten nas kō sa (9–b) song nas yod | che mchog he ru ka | bi so rub | gu lang na yod | grub thob brgyad cu'i gnas | ma ṇi tsu ṭā sthan | chos rgyal gtsug na nor bus ma ṇi sbyin pa'i gnas dang grub thob brgyad cu'i gnas dang bcas ma ṇi ling ga zhes nor bu sog las bcad gtsang chur khrus pa rnams mjal | gsang gu kya rnal 'byor ma | sa khu badzra dzo gi ni | mkha' spyod mdongs bzhugs rnal 'byor ma'i sku khyad 'phags dang bskal pa'i me sogs yod | khyung rang byon | tsang gu nā rā ya nā than | 'phags pa klu sgrub kyi phyag (10–a) phreng las rang byon grub par grags pas klu nad sel bar mchog tu bsngags | kho khom sangs rgyas mar me mdzad |bhad gha 'um di pam ka ra | sangs rgyas mar me mdzad rigs lnga sogs mjal rgyu mang po yod | sgrol ma gsung byon | bol ne tā ra | kho khom rgyal por rje btsun mi la gdan drongs zhes lung bstan pa de yin | pho brang na bzhugs | shākya thub dgon | bhag wān | shākya mu ni ko bi har | kho khom na yod | spyan ras gzigs | lo ke shwa ra thān | kho khom na (10–b) gnye shang kur ti | bā gi shwa ri sa ra swa sti sthan | mgron khang ring mo nas kro sa tsam song nas yod | rje btsun mi la'i sgrub gnas kyang yin | e ka dza ti | tsan ṭi shwa ri | ba ne pāl | sa mig mthong sar yod | e ka dza ti rang ngo po gcig pa lha mo tsan ṭi ka 'dra | stag mo lus sbyin | na mo buddha | rgyal po snying stobs chen pos sku



lus stag mor sbyin pa'i gnas der gdung rten sa 'og tu bzhugs pa la bcom ldan 'das kyis phyag brdab pas rang byon du byung ba ngo mtshar can no | chu mig byang (11–a) chub la | ri ṣhi shwa ra | rgya gar lam phyogs na yod | zla ba dang po'i nang dus chen bzung brag la gu ru sku rang byon mjal ba yod do | bya rgod phung po'i dgon pa skyim grol du bal po'i dge slong wa gin dra badzra bam ngag dbang rdo rjes nas shing rta sa ga zla ba'i tshes 14 bzang por par gsar bskrun mdzad de | gnas tshang lam ston rogs ram rnams dag gnang rgyu yin pas gnas gzigs pa drag zhan tshang ma'i thugs la mnga' ba mkhyen | | lam la | ba ṭo | ga pa yod zer ba la | ka ta ho | ston zer ba la | de kha'i de'u |||

COL

AU: WAGINDRAVADSM / NGAG DBANG RDO RJE

PLACE: KIMDOL,

YR: SHING RTA;

## Appendix B

# BAL YUL MCHOD RTEN 'PHAGS PA SHING KUN DANG DE'I GNAS GZHAN RNAMS KYI DKAR CHAG BZHUGS SO

(Folio 1–b) Na mo gu ru de wa ḍā ki ni ye | dka' brgyud bla ma yi dam lha yi tshogs | mkha' 'gro chos skyong rnams la phyag 'tshal lo | | dus gsum bde gshegs thams cad kyi | | thugs rje'i chu rgyun pas grub pa'i | | mchod rten rin chen gzi 'od can | | 'gro ba'i don du rgyas gyur cig | | mdo sde glang ru lung bstan dang | | 'jam dpal rtsa rgyud rgyud las bshad pa'i | | tshig rnams legs par bsdus byas nas | | don zab dkar chag mdor bsdus bro | | de la sngon sangs rgyas 'khor ba 'jig bzhugs pa'i dus li yul 'di mtsho yod | de'i dus mchod rten go ma zhes bya'o | | de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis lung bstan pa bzhin | chos kyi rgyal po yul 'khor skyong bya ba la bu stong rtsa gnyis byung | bu gzhan rnams kyis 'dzambu'i gling du yul stong rtsa (2–a) gcig bzung | | chung bas li yul 'di bzung ste ming yang rgyal po li zhes bya'o | | yul mi rnams dge ba bcu la spyod pas na grong yang dge ba zhes bya'o | | de'i dus su kun bzang gi sprul pa dge slong dznyāna siddhi ting nge 'dzin la bzhugs so | | de'i dus su rgyal po bi ba dhe was dznyāna siddhi la chos dbang gsan te | rten khyad par can sā la gan dha bzhengs dkon gnyer yang dznyāna siddhis mdzad | mchod rten gyi ming go ma sā la gan dha zhes bya'o | | de nas sangs rgyas 'khor ba 'jig mya ngan las 'das nas gdung la yum chen mo'i sku byon | de dā lta shing kun gyi nang na bzhugs | de'i rjes la gser thub la sogs pa byon 'gro don rgya chen po mdzad | de nas dznyāna siddhi yang mya ngan las 'das | de nas brgya byin gyis lha'i nor (2–b) bu rin po che phul | 'jog po dag gis dbang gi rgyal mtshan phul | 'phags pa'i 'og na klu'i pho brang

yod | de'i steng na rus sbal gson po zhig yod | de'i steng na srog shing btsugs pa'i rtsa ba'i sbom phra 'dom bdun yod | ring thung 'dom bzhi bcu rtsa gnyis yod | srog shing nub kyi dra mig la rang byon gyi lha lnga stong bzhi brgya rtsa brgyad bzhugs | phyogs bzhir sangs rgyas rabs bdun gyi ring bsrel ma ga dha'i bre re bzhugs | rgyal ba shākya thub pa'i ring bsrel ma ga dha'i khal brgyad bzhugs | rgyal po gser gyi go cha'i pags pa la byon pa'i bde mchog lha drug cu rtsa gnyis kyi dkyil 'khor dang bcas pa bri la bzhugs | des phyi nang gsang gsum gyi rten 'brel 'grig pa (3–a) yin gsung | mchod rten 'di bskal ba'i mes kyang mi 'jig par sangs rgyas kyi lung bstan | sangs rgyas yangs pa can na bzhugs dus shā ri'i bu dang | kun dga' bo la bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa | 'di nas rgya gar logs shig na dge ba zhes bya ba'am | li yul zhes bya ba'i grong khyer 'byung bar 'gyur | mtsho go ma de ba'i nang na ri glang ru lung bstan yod pa | de'i nang na go ma sā la gan dha'i mchod rten 'byung bar 'gyur | mtsho de'i nang na padma 'dab ma stong dang ldan pa'i lte ba la shākya thub pa'i sku bzhugs | 'dab ma la sa bcu'i byang chub sems dpa' stong gnas par 'gyur zhes gsungs pas | shā ri'i bu la sogs pa'i 'khor rnams kyis gsol pa | de lta bu 'byung ba'i rgyu rkyen ci lags zhus pas | nga mya ngan las 'das pa'i 'og tu nga'i sprul pa (3–b) stong rtsa 'byung ba'i rgyu rkyen lags | mtsho go ma de pa'i rgya gar logs shig tu bcom ldan 'das kyis lung bstan pa bzhin du shā ri'i bu dang kun dga' bo stan las langs te mkhar gsil dang dbyug to thogs nas mtsho bshos | der lhag ma cung zad lus pa tshogs bdag gis bshos nas tshogs bdag pha bong zhig la thim pas rdo glang chen 'dra bar ye rang gi phyogs dbu khang na da lta yang yod | de nas grong khyer chen po bzhi chags | sangs rgyas bzhugs dus dkon gnyer drug ste bzang pos mdzad | rgyal po gser gyi go chas sbyin bdag mdzad | de nas sangs rgyas mya ngan las 'das nas 'od srungs kyis dkon gnyer mdzad | de nas bya rgod phung po'i ri nas dgra bcom pa nyi khri chig stong gis sa blangs nas mchod rten gyi bum pa man chad (4–a) nub nas klu sgrub kyis dbu skra bcad nas gtor te khyad par 'phags pa'i mchod rten 'di la shing sna kun skye bar shog cig ces smon lam btab pas shing sna kun tshang bar skyes pas phyis 'phags pa shing kun du grags | shanta pu ri 'di klu sgrub kyi sgrub khang yin | de nas 'od srungs mya ngan las 'das nas shing kun gyi nub na



'od srungs mchod rten dang | dbyig gnyen mchod rten re yod | de'i dus klu sgrub kyis dkon gnyer mdzad | rgyal po 'od zer go chas sbyin bdag mdzad | shanta pu ri'i sgo shing kun la 'gro ba'i lam dang | klu yul la 'gro ba'i lam | gbegs yul 'gro ba'i lam gsum yod | da lta rdo 'dom gang gru bzhi gcig gi kha dpyad yod | klu sgrub kyis klu nas gdan drangs pa'i yum (4–b) po ti bcu drug baiḍūrya'i shog bu la 'dzam-bu chu bo'i gser las bris pa yam bu'i thang bai dhari na bzhugs | yang phyag na rdo rje'i dbu rtsa'i rgyud gsungs pas | shanta pu ri cung zad ma mnyes | de nas re zhig tsam mchod rten gyi srog shing chag pa dpon chen shākya bzang pos gser bre chen gsum dang gser srang bcu phul | gzhan yang dbu gtsang gi dge bshes bal po 'ba' ro | rgya gar gyi tha bskur ba rnams kyis nor mang po phul nas | bla ma dbus pa yab sras kyis srog shing btsugs pa'i rtsa ba rtse mo'i bar la 'dom bdun cu rtsa gnyis yod | rten 'di la 'das pa'i sangs rgyas rnams dang | ma 'ongs pa'i sangs rgyas rnams kyi gdung ring bsrel 'dir bzhugs par lung bstan | phyogs bzhi na rdo'i kong bu dang | maṇḍal yod pa phan chod lha'i pho brang yin pas | mchod pa 'bul ba dang zhabs (5–a) tog byed pa ma gtogs de'i nang phan lam 'gro srog shing gi rtse la yid bzhin nor bu yam bu'i pha ma bcu gcig 'gor ba yod | de la bzang drug sman gyis byug na nad kyi bskal ba nas thar | 'bru dang tshogs 'khor byas na mu ge'i bskal ba nas thar | mtshon cha phul na mtshon gyi bskal ba nas thar | de'i steng na bug khung zhig yod | der mchod pa rnams lnga phul na | rang byon gyi lha lnga bcu rtsa brgyad bzhugs pas bsod nams dpag tu med pa thob | skra dang sen mo sogs la cho ga byas bcug na skye ba snga phyi dran par 'gyur ro | | shing kun gyi mtshan thos pa | mos gus dang zhabs tog byas pa | dad gus kyi dos nas gom pa bdun bor bas 'khor ba las grol lo | | dkor la 'bags na skye ba phyi mar mi (5–b) lus mi thob | 'di'i gzhi bdag bi na ya ka yin sprul bas gar yang khyab | shing kun gyi nub byang na ri bo 'bigs byed kyi rtse la ston pa'i bzhugs khri | shā ri'i bu dang mo'u 'gal gyi bu'i bzhugs khri rnams yod | de'i shar 'dabs na | klu sgrub kyi sgrub khang dang sgrub chu yod | de'i byang 'khris na | yab sras gtsang dang yum sgyu ma lha mdzes kyi mchod rten re yod | de'i shar 'dabs kyi ri la mā dhye sangs rgyas sa yod | der spre'u'i rgyal po ha lu manydzus [sic!] bya rgod phung po'i ri nas gdan drangs pa'i sa yod | de na mchod rten

lnga yod | deng sang bod kyi dur khrod byed gyin yod | shing kun gyi phyogs bzhir gter chen po bzhi yod | gter de rnams gyis phyis mchod rten gso ba'i phyir du slob dpon klu sgrub kyis sbas so | | shing kun gyi shar phyogs na rgyal po gser gyi go chas smon lam btab pa'i (6–a) chu yod | de 'thungs shing khrus byas na nad kyi bskal pa nas thar | shing kun gyi shar na klu sgrub kyi pur bzhugs pa'i rdo sku rang byon khru gang pa gcig yod | de la dad gus kyis byin rlabs zhus na rtog pa rang grol du 'gro | de'i lho na mgon po gur gyi rdo sku rang byon yod | byin rlabs zhus na bar chad sel | shing kun gyi shar na rgyal po gser gyi go chas bshags pa phul ba'i rdo sku rang byon rdo 'dom bcu pa gcig gi rtse la yod | lho nub na bya rgod phung po'i ri yod | de'i shar phyogs nas bya rdzi mas bzhengs pa'i mchod rten bya rung kha shor yod | der smon lam btab tshad thebs | zhib cha kha shor gyi kar [*sic*!] chag gi nang du gsal lo | | de'i shar 'dabs na | rje rang rig ras pa'i gdung rten yod | de'i lho na tai lo ba'i sgrub khang sgrub chu yod | lhun (6–b) grub brtsegs pa'i dur khrod | phag mo'i mngal chu yod | nā ro'i sgrub chu sgrub khang yod | o rgyan gyi sgrub chu dang bzhugs khri yod | gu lang ni dbang phyug chen po'i pho brang yin | sa mgo'i byang 'khris na grub thob brgyad cus byin gyis brlabs pa'i gnas yod | cang khung du klu kyi mdun 'dzin la khyung rang byon yod | yam bu na jo bo mched bzhi 'khrungs pa'i tsan dan gyi khron chu dang | 'ja' ma li dkar mo dang | bod thang mgon po yod | rgyal khang gi mdun na yam bu ya 'gal gyi che ba shā ri'i bu'i dbu thod dang | 'od srungs kyi ring bsrel bzhugs pa'i mchod rten gser zangs las grub pa yod | bcom ldan 'das dang shā ri'i bu mo'u 'gal gyi bu rnams kyis ri 'bigs byed kyi rtse nas rdo mda' rgyab pa yam (7–a) bu'i grong khyer gyi dbus na da lta yang ye re yod | grong khyer gyi nub smad na | rgyal po sku lnga dzhe kṣhi las grub pa bar chad kun sel bya ba yod | de'i logs na dur khrod ram do li bya ba yod | kho khom na sgrol ma gsung 'byon ma yod | shar lho na gnyi shang kur ti mi la'i rnam thar na gsal ba de yod | lho na stag mo lus sbyin yod | ye rang na ma ṇi bka' 'bum na gsal ba'i jo bo a khang u khang gnyis dang | sangs rgyas stong sku bzhugs | rdo rje gdan gyi zhing bkod dang sangs rgyas longs sku gsung 'byon bzhugs | lho nub na yang le shod kyi brag phug dang mtsho dkar nag yod | de'i nye logs na rgya gar pham mthing



na phag mo gsung (7–b) 'byon ma bzhugs | de'i nye logs na a su ra'i brag phug yod | de nas lho nub tu nyin gcig gi sa na chu mig byang chub bdud rtsi yod | yul de bde mchog gi pho brang yin | de nas re zhig tsam shing kun gyi srog shing chag pas | sngags 'chang shākya bzang po | sher mkhan po | lho byang gi khri dpon | khams mi nyag rnams kyis nor mang po phul nas sbyin bdag byas | bal po'i rgyal po dzām bīmal rnams kyis gtso mdzad | 'khor mnga' 'og gi bzo rigs rnams bsdus nas | mnyam med gtsang smyon he ru ka sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan gyis chos 'khor tog dang bcas me sbrul hor zla gnyis pa'i nyin yongs su grags pas bsgrubs pa'o | | de nas nam zhig gi tshe | (8–a) rje btsun rang rig de nyid kha shor gyi ganydzira chen po bkal ba'i dus gser lhag ma srang sum cu so gnyis yod nga rgyal po pattibhandre [*sic*!] ma la dang | tse kur 'bab chu gnyis la bzhag nas | 'phags pa shing kun gyi phyogs bzhi'i sku dang bcas pa zhig gsos dgos pa 'dug pas gyis shig gsungs | rgyal pos de'i lo la ma 'grub | lo rting ma srog shing chag ste g.yon por gyur tshe | rgyal po pattibhandre ma la la tshogs bdag gis lung bstan nas 'od srungs kyi mchod rten mdun nas gser gyi gter bzhes nas | mnga' 'og gi bzo rigs bsdus nas | spos dkar shing la srog shing sbom phra 'dom drug | dkyus 'dom zhe bdun btsug nas khang bzang chos (8–b) 'khor tog dang phyogs bzhi'i sku rgyab yol bcas gser zangs las bsgrubs | lcags spre hor zla lnga pa'i tshes bco lnga'i nyin rab tu gnas pa mdzad tshe 'ja' 'od dang me tog gi char rol mo'i sgra sogs kun gyis mthong ba'o | | de ltar dkar chag mdor bsdus 'di ni | rje btsun rang rig ras pa'i man ngag gis 'tsho ba | nas lung ngag dbang rdo rjes bkod pa dza yantu | lho brag mar pa lo tsa'i rje mi la la lung bstan pa'i gnas rnams ni | gnas g.ya' khrod gangs khrod nags khrod bsten | ri khrod rnams kyi nang nas kyang la stod rgyal gyi shrī 'di rgya gar gyi grub chen rnams kyis byin brlabs pa'i ri yin pas de la bsgoms | gangs ti se sangs rgyas kyis lung bstan pa'i ri bo gangs can dang 'khor lo sdom pa'i pho brang (9–a) ying pas de la bsgoms | la phyi gangs yul nyi shu rtsa bzhi'i ya gyal gaudā wari yin pas de la bsgoms | mang yul gyi ri bo dpal 'bar dang | bal yul gyi yol mo gangs ri mdo phal chen nas lung bstan pa'i gnas yin pas de la bsgoms | brin gyi chu dbar zhing skyong gi mkha' 'gro bzhugs shir 'du ba'i gnas yin pas de la bsgoms | gzhan yang mi med kyi gnas

mthun rkyen gang 'dzom du bsgoms la bsgrubs pa'i rgyal mtshan tshugs shig | shar phyogs na gnas chen de wi ko ṭe dang | rtsa ri 'brel nas yod do | | de da lta zhal 'byed ma ran | ma 'ongs pa na khyod kyi bu rgyud gyis 'dzin pa cig 'ong ba yin | khyod rang lung bstan pa'i gnas de rnams su sgrub pa gtso bor (9–b) thon cig | sgrub pa nus na bla ma'i zhabs tog | pha ma'i drin lan | sems can gyi 'gro don rnams de ka rang gis grub pa yin gsungs gnas mchog de rnams kyi mtshan thos pa tsam gyis 'khor ba las grol na | mngon sum du mjal te phyag mchod bskor ba sogs bsgom sgrub la brtson na lta ci smos | | skal ldan 'gro kun bsod nams bsags pa'i zhing | bal yul rten mchog mchod rten yid bzhin nor | | khyad 'phags 'gangs chen bya rung kha shor dang | | 'phags pa shing kun zung gyi lo rgyus 'di | | skal ldan yongs kyi mig gi mdzes rgyan du | | spel phyir sog sprul gu ru'i mtshan can nas | | par gsar bskrun mdzad rgyu sbyor sbyin pa'i bdag | | dad gus tshad med lung rig rgyal mtshan dang | | a ma bsod nams sgrol mas gtso byas pa'i | | mthun rkyen sgrub pa'i (10–a) 'brel bcas thams cad kyi | | lhag bsam rnam dkar dge tshogs rgya mtsho'i mthus | | rgyal bstan nyi 'od phyogs bcur rgyas pa dang | | bstan 'dzin bla ma'i zhabs pad bskal brgyar brtan | | bstan 'gror phan pa'i rlabs chen mdzad 'phrin rgyas | | bstan pa'i sbyin bdag tshe bsod 'byor pa 'phel | | bstan la gus mchod rtag tu bgyid gyur cig | | ces pa 'di'ang lo rgyus dkar chag gyi par gsar bsgrub skabs 'bras sgo bla chos ming btsun chung bidza badzra gyis dga' spro'i mtshams sbyar dang bcas par byang smon tshig tu bris pa'o | | par 'di mchod rten po'i nye 'dab sgrol ma'i lha khang du bzhugs | dge'o |||

## TABLE A

| Tibetan Name | General Name |
|---|---|
| Ka–ṭi–shim–bu | Kathisambu |
| Ka–tha–māṇḍu | Kathmandu |
| Kai–tār–nā–tha | Kedernath |
| Kirta–spu–ra | Kirtipur |
| Kurje–shwa–ri | Guhyeshwari |
| Klu gan–rkyal | Mahadeo |
| Klu gdol–pa | Mahadeo |
| Skyid–grong | Kirong, Kyerong |
| Kha–si | Khas |
| Kho–khom | Bhatgaon, Bhaktapura |
| 'Khor–lo sdom–pa | Cakrasamvara |
| Gau–sān | Gosain |
| Gau–sān–sthān | Gosainthan |
| Gu–lang | Pashpati |
| Go–bāl | Gubal |
| Gorṣa | Gorkha, Gurkha |
| Ghu–rin | Gurung |
| Sgrol–ma | Taleju |
| Sgrol–ma Gsung–byon–ma | Bol–ne Tā–ra |
| Ja–ma–li (Dza–ma–li) | Seto("White")MatsyendraNātha |
| Jo–bo Ja–ma–li | Jammadeo |
| 'Jigs–byed Nag–po | Bhairava Kāla |
| Nya–lam | Kuti, Nyalam Dzong |
| Gnya'–nang | Kuti area in Tibet |

| | |
|---|---|
| Tā-ma-khān | Tamba Khani |
| Ti-la-ka-nā-tha | Triloknath |
| Ṭong-ṭi-khel | Tundi Khel |
| Stag-mo lus-sbyin | (on) Namobuddha mountain |
| Ṭha-mel-bhal | Thambahil |
| Thag-pa | Thakali |
| Thang-zing | Hsüan-tsang |
| Stha-na-ko-ṭa | Thankot |
| De-ba-pa-ṭan | Deopatan |
| Dha-ta-tri | Dattātreya |
| Rdo-rje-gdan | Vajrāsana, Bodhgayā |
| Rdo-rje rnal-'byor-ma | Bajrajogini |
| Rdō-lā-kha | Dolakhā |
| Nā-ga ta-lā-pa | Nāga Talaka |
| Na-ya-ko-ṭa | Nayakot, Nawakot |
| Pa-su-pa-ti-shwa-ra | Paśupatīśvara |
| Pu-ta-nī-la-kanṭha | Budhā-Nīlakanṭha, Nilkanth |
| Phyugs-bdag | Paśupati |
| 'Phags-pa shing-kun | Swayambhūnāth |
| Banṭa | Bandya |
| Bal-po | Newari, Nepali |
| Bal-po rdzong | (?) Nayakot |
| Bu-kam (U-khang) | Rato ("Red") Matsyendra Nātha |
| Bu-kham (Bu-kam) | Bundeo |
| Bod Thang Mgon-po | Mahākāla |
| Bha-dra-nā-tha | Badrinath |
| Bha-lak-nī-la-kanṭha | Bāla-Nīlakanṭha, Balaju (Bālaji) |
| Bhi-ma-phe-ta | Bhimphedi |
| Bya-rgod phung-po'i ri | Gṛdhrakūṭa |
| Bya-rung kha-shor | Bodhnāth |
| Dbang-phyug | Iśvara, Śiva |
| Mā-kra | Magar |



| | |
|---|---|
| Ma-gcig 'Dod-khams bdag-mo | Dakṣiṇa-Kālī |
| Ma-ṇi-tsu-ṭā-sthan | Maṇicūḍa, Manichur |
| Tsandra-ki-ri | Chandragiri |
| Tsam-khu | Caṅgu |
| Tsi-ti-lam | Chitlong |
| Tsi-tor | Chitor |
| Tshogs-bdag | Gaṇapati |
| Dza-ma-li | Dzan-bhāl (see Ja-ma-li) |
| Dza-ya-si | Jaisi, Joshi |
| Yang-le-shod | Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa |
| Yam-bu | Kathmandu, Kāntipur |
| Yum | Prajnāpāramitā |
| Ye-rang | Patan, Lalitpur |
| Ri 'Bigs-byed | Vindhyā |
| Li-yul | Khotan |
| Shi-ba-pu-ra | Śivapuri, Sheopuri |
| Shi-la-na-gar | Srinagar (in Garhwal) |
| Shing-dkyil | Kāṣṭha-maṇḍapa, Kathmandu |
| Shriṣṭha | Shrestha |
| Sangs-rgyas stong-sku | Mahābuddha |
| Sam-khu | Sankhu |
| Sam-khu-nā-ra-ni | (?) Sankhu Nārāyaṇī |
| Sam-badzra-dzwa-ki-ni | Bajrajoginī |
| Ha-nu-mantha | Hanumat, Hanuman |
| A-kam (A-khang) | Mīna Nātha, Chaknadeo |
| Agmā-tha | Agnimat |
| U-tā-si | Udas |
| U-ma | Umā |
| E-ka-damṣḍa | Ekdunta |

## TABLE B

| General Name | Tibetan Name |
|---|---|
| Agnimat | Agmā–tha |
| Badrinath | Bha–dra–nā–tha |
| Bajrajogini | Rdo–rje rnal–'byor–ma |
| Bajrajogini | Sam–badzra–dzwa–ki–ni |
| Balaju, Bāla Nīlakaṇṭha | Bha–lak–nī–la–kaṇṭha |
| Bandya | Banṭa |
| Bhairava Kāla | 'Jigs–byed Nag–po |
| Bhatgaon | Kho–khom |
| Bhimphedi | Bhi–ma–phe–ta |
| Bodhgayā | Rdo–rje–gdan |
| Bodhnāth | Bya–rung kha–shor |
| Bol–ne Tā–ra | Sgrol–ma Gsung–byon–ma |
| Budhā–Nīlakaṇṭha | Pu–ṭa–nī–la–kaṇṭha |
| Bundeo | Bu–kam, U–khang |
| Caṅgu | Tsam–khu |
| Chaknadeo | A–kam, A–khang |
| Chandragiri | Tsandra–ki–ri |
| Chitlong | Tsi–ti–lam |
| Chitor | Tsi–tor |
| Dakṣiṇa–Kālī | Ma–gcig 'Dod-khams bdag-mo |
| Dattātreya | Dha–ta–tri |
| Deopatan | De–ba–pa–ṭan |
| Dolakhā | Rdō–lā–kha |
| Dzan–bhāl | Dza–ma–li, Ja–ma–li |
| Ekdunta | E–ka–damṣḍa |

| | |
|---|---|
| Gaṇapati | Tshogs–bdag |
| Gosāin | Gau–sān |
| Gosainthan | Gau–sān–sthān |
| Gorkha | Gorṣa |
| Gṛdhrakūṭa | Bya–rgod phung–po'i ri |
| Gubal | Go–bāl |
| Guhyeshwari | Kurje–shwa–ri |
| Gurkha | Gorṣa |
| Gurung | Ghu–rin |
| Hanuman | Ha–nu–mantha |
| Hsüan–tsang | Thang–zing |
| Īśvara (Śiva) | Dbang–phyug |
| Jammadeo | Ja–ma–li |
| Josi, Joshi, Jaisi | Dza–ya–si |
| Kāntipur, Kathmandu | Yam–bu |
| Kāṣṭha–maṇḍapa | Shing–dkyil |
| Kathisambu | Ka–ṭi–shim–bu |
| Kathmandu | Ka–tha–māndu |
| Kedernath | Kai–tār–nā–tha |
| Khas | Kha–si |
| Khotan | Li–yul |
| Kirong, Kyerong | Skyid–grong |
| Kirtipur | Kirta–spu–ra |
| Kuti | Nya–lam |
| Lalitpur, Patan | Ye–rang |
| Magar | Mā–kra |
| Mahābuddha | Sangs–rgyas stong–sku |
| Mahadeo (at Gosain Kund) | Klu gan–rgyal, Klu gdol–pa |
| Mahākāla | Bod Thang Mgon–po |
| Maṇicūḍa, Manichur | Ma–ṇi–tsu–ṭā–sthan |
| Matsyendra Nātha, the *White* | Jo–bo Ja–ma–li |
| Matsyendra Nātha, the *Red* | Bu–kam, U–khang |
| Matsyendra Nātha, the *Petit* | A–kam, A–khang |
| Mīna Nātha | A–kam, A–khang |
| Nāga Talaka | Nā–ga ta–lā–pa |



| | |
|---|---|
| Namobuddha (mountain) | Stag–mo lus–sbyin |
| Nayakot, Nawakot | Na–ya–ko–ṭa |
| Newari, Nepali | Bal–po |
| Nilkanth | Pu–ṭa–nī–la–kanṭha |
| Pashpati | Gu–lang |
| Paśupati | Phyugs–bdag |
| Paśupatīśvara | Pa–su–pa–ti–shwa–ra |
| Patan | Ye–rang |
| Rato Matsyendra Nātha | Bu–kam, U–khang |
| Sankhu | Sam–khu |
| Sankhu Nārāyaṇī | Bajrajogini |
| Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa | Yang–le–shod |
| Seto Matsyendra Nātha | Ja–ma–li, Dza–ma–li |
| Śivapuri, Sheopuri | Shi–ba–pu–ra |
| Shrestha | Shriṣṭha |
| Srinagar (in Garhwal) | Shi–la–na–gar |
| Swayambhūnāth | 'Phags–pa shing–kun |
| Taleju | Sgrol–ma |
| Tamba Khani | Tā–ma–khān |
| Thakali | Thag–pa |
| Thambahil | Ṭha–mel–bhal |
| Thankot | Stha–na–ko–ṭa |
| Triloknath | Ti–la–ka–nā–tha |
| Tundi Khel | Ṭong–ṭi–khel |
| Udas | U–tā–si |
| Umā | U–ma |
| Vindhyā | Ri 'Bigs–byed |

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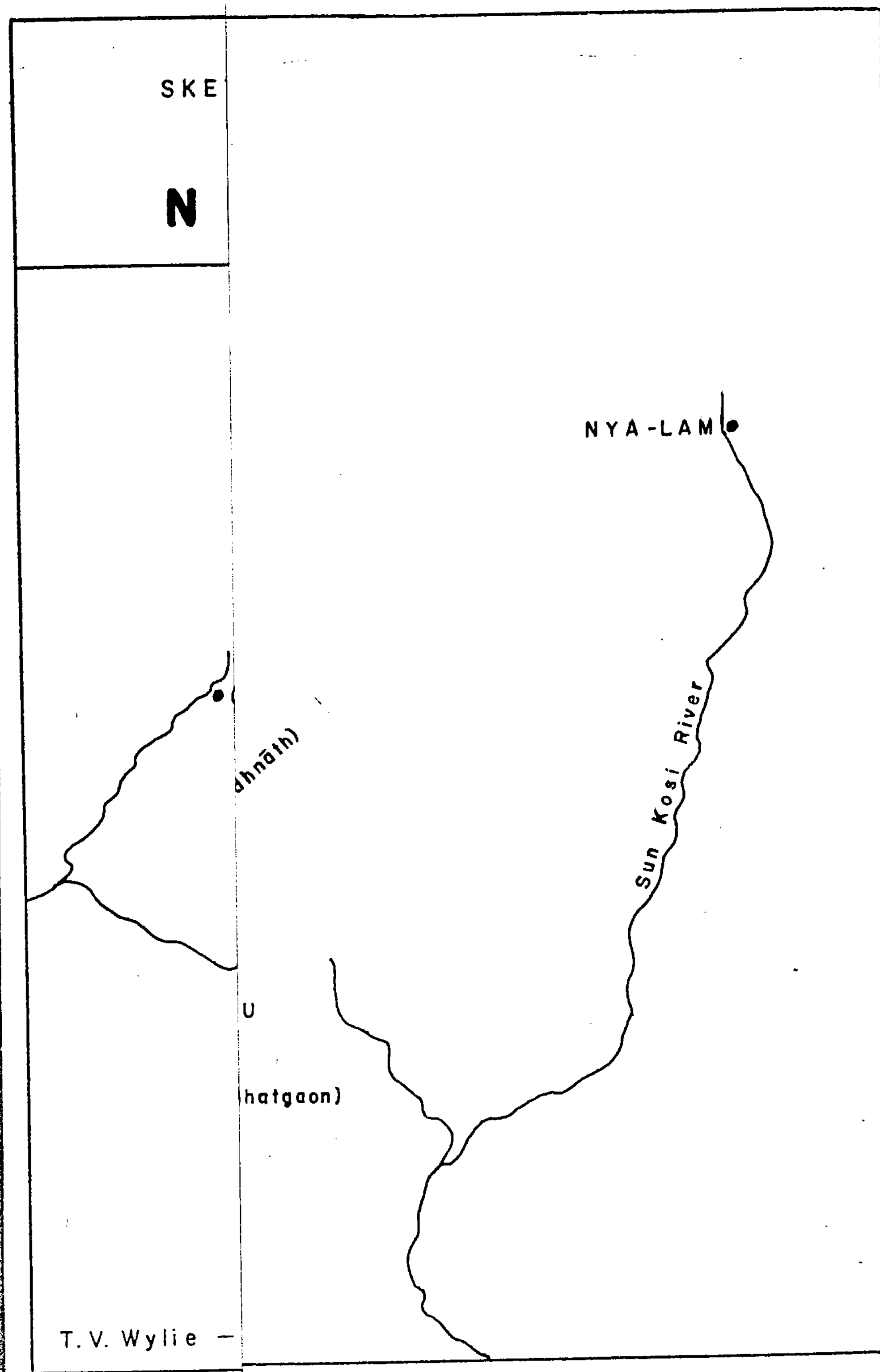
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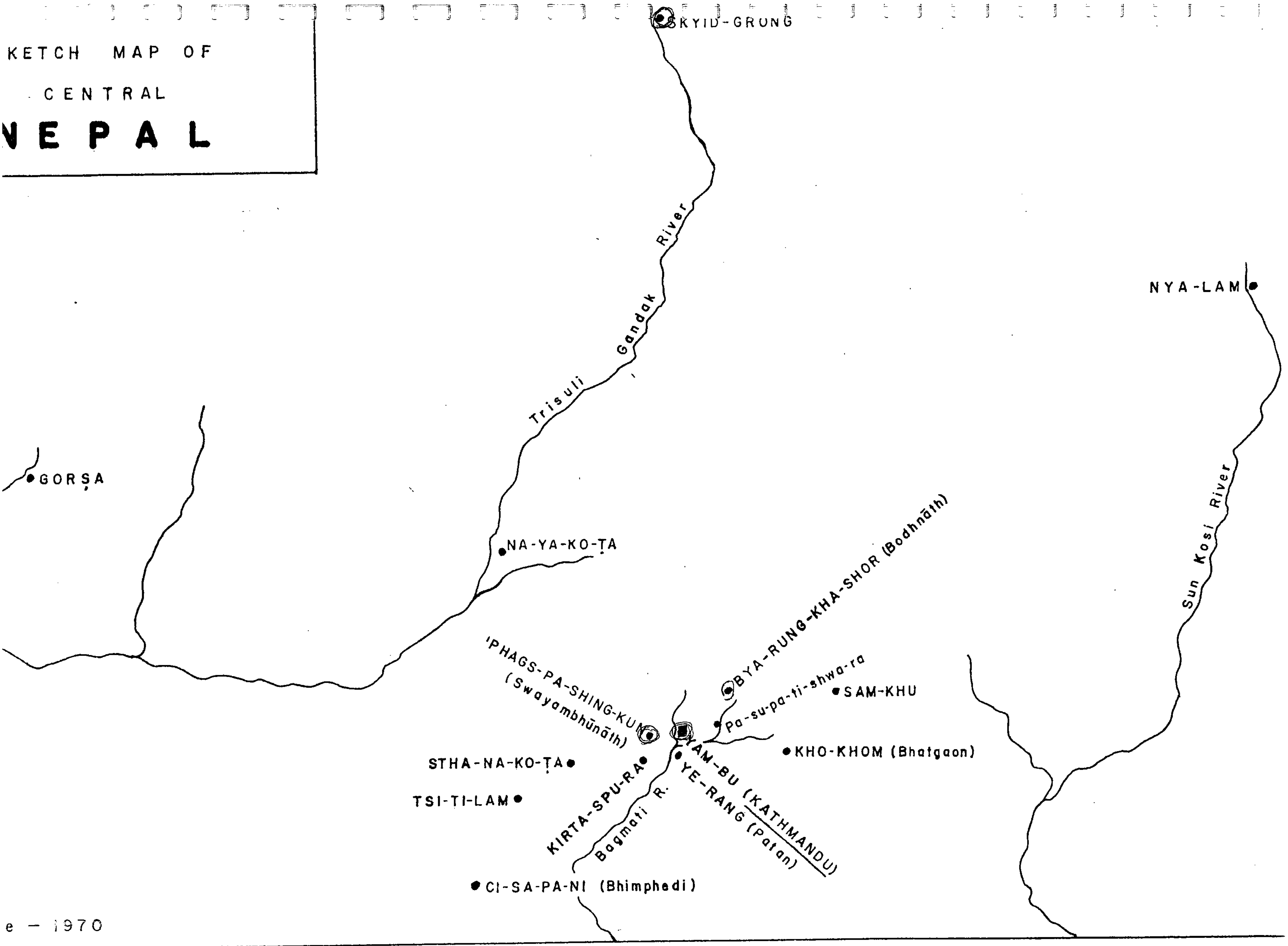
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# GENERAL INDEX


SKE
N
NYA-LAM
Sun Kosi River
dhnāth)
U
hatgaon)
T. V. Wylie —


KETCH MAP OF
CENTRAL
NEPAL
SKYID-GRUNG
River
Gandak
Trisuli
NYA-LAM
GORṢA
NA-YA-KO-ṬA
Sun Kosi River
BYA-RUNG-KHA-SHOR (Bodhnāth)
'PHAGS-PA-SHING-KUN
(Swayambhūnāth)
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